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Pasko, Pyadyshev Discuss Disarmament Issues

LD051722 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0435 GMT 5 Jan 88

["For a Nuclear-Free World and International Security" program, presented by Commentator Vladimir Pasko, with the participation of Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, "member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium and editor-in-chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN"]

[Text] [Pasko] Hello, Comrades! It is in a state of consciousness of their lofty responsibility for the present and the future that the Soviet people have entered 1988. This year has to occupy an important place in our history. It is connected with profound changes on the roads of further restructuring and democratization, and of radical economic reform, which in the final analysis will make it possible for us to emerge onto the broad road of accelerated development. We connect 1988 with hopes for an improvement in the international situation, as well. Last year created good foundations for this. I am handing over to Boris Dmitriyevich Pyadyshev, member of the USSR Foreign Ministry Collegium and editor-in-chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine.

[Pyadyshev] Everyone agrees that last year, 1987, was the year of a major breakthrough for the better in world politics. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and also the other results of the visit to Washington by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, mark the reaching of the highest pass in Soviet-U.S. relations and in international life as a whole.

It is no easy matter to reject nuclear missiles. The opinion is current that they are a symbol of a country's might, and by rejecting them, some say, we are depriving ourselves of the accessories of a mighty power. One sometimes happens to hear that we have come to agreement with the Americans on the basis of their zero option. Putting forward the zero-option several years ago, the Westerners placed their stake on Moscow's rejecting it. Their reckoning was justified for a long time. However, what do 100 Pershing-2's in Europe mean for us? They are the potential capability for the United States to create an extremely unpleasant military threat for us, of a quick attack on vitally important centers. On the other hand, the arsenal of our SS-20 missiles, with a four-fold advantage, do not have such a capability against the United States. In brief, no ideals, not even the highest ones, can or should be above commonsense. Naked pragmatism is alien to our policy. The task that was posed for Soviet diplomacy was ideological to the highest degree: to guarantee conditions for the country in which the Soviet people could work more and more on enhancing the standard and quality of their life. Of course, it would be self-deception to reckon that everything was turned inside out in the United States over the 3 days of the visit. However, there are quite a few changes. Now it will be ever more difficult for the right-wingers to cultivate the image of an evil empire, all the more since the author of that term has admitted openly that he no longer believes in a Soviet desire for world domination or a Soviet intention to destroy the Western community.

A serious struggle is to come in the United States over the ratification of the treaty. One can expect from the Americans some kind of recoiling, as always happens after extraordinary and significant events that signify our success.

[Pasko] Boris Dmitriyevich, now the main road signs are evidently apparent for the political agenda for the year that has begun, that is, the drafting of an agreement concerning a drastic, 50% cut in strategic offensive weapons of the Soviet Union and the United States of America, on the condition that the regime of the ABM Treaty be strengthened. It also concerns other possible accords during the visit by the U.S. President to the Soviet Union, slated for the first half of the year.

[Pyadyshev] That is so. If nothing dramatic happens-,then we are in the run-up to very major accords with the United States. Nevertheless, among the priorities of Soviet foreign policy, I would point out Afghanistan. This is our biggest problem today. The near future will provide its assessment of this problem, how and why it arose. The Soviet leadership now has adopted a political decision on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Soon, apparently in February, indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks are to begin in Geneva. The sole question that remains in dispute is the timetable for the evacuation of Soviet troops. It seems that hope is taking shape that this round of the Geneva talks will be the last, and that accord will be reached at it on this issue, as well.

As far as disarmament affairs with the United States and other states are concerned, quite good prospects are opening up for progress in the sphere of strategic offensive weapons, conventional weapons, and chemical weapons. I would like to stress, in particular, the fundamental significance of the accord on issues of verification. What it has been possible to achieve in this sphere is, perhaps, more weighty than the agreement on medium-range missiles directly. This may sound paradoxical, so I will explain my idea. The foundation is being laid for our further work in all other areas of disarmament. The West did not believe that we would be prepared to extend the openness we have declared to sensitive issues such as military affairs. We have demonstrated our sincerity. The treaty on intermediate-range missiles envisages an unprecedented scale of measures for verification: more than 400 inspections on the territory of the Soviet Union, and up to 200 inspections on U.S. territory. The verification measures cover all the NATO and Warsaw Pact member countries, with a few exceptions. Never in history has there been such a practical breakthrough in the sphere of trust between opposing blocs, opposing states.

[Pasko] Boris Dmitriyevich, glasnost and openness in foreign policy matters are supposed to be helped by the mass media. You have just been appointed editor-in-chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine. How does the contribution the press could make to the enhancement of the effectiveness of the foreign policy line look from this new position?

[Pyadyshev] MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN magazine is a publication with a well-established good reputation, both within the country and abroad, but the time of restructuring has come and now MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN is becoming the organ of the USSR Foreign Ministry. However, this fact by no means signifies that the material in the magainze will reflect only the official point of view and be of an orthodox nature. No way! The association with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs gives the editorial staff the opportunity to base themselves on solid information, but no one is restricting the right to conduct discussion and for the editorial to express its own point of view. Incidentally, the mass enlightenment organization, the All-Union Society for Knowledge, remains the sponsor of the magazine. In general, the more discussion and the more glasnost there are, the less things are hidden, the more reliable and firm accords are. Is there really a lack of examples of how decisions adopted behind closed doors have proved to have grave consequences? The decisions upon which the destinies of people depend must be known to people. Our people should have a precise picture of what is going on abroad, in the United States, in other states both near and far, not an illusory, not a dogmatic description of the processes taking place there, but a precise, objective picture. There must be discussion, debate about foreign policy problems on a scientific basis, orienting oneself toward how best to serve the national aims of the Soviet Union. The backing for our fatherland's foreign policy can only be more firm and reliable thanks to this.

[Pasko] Boris Dmitriyevich, thank you for your long and interesting talk.

U.S. Nuclear Experts To Visit Semipalatinsk

LD052226 Moscow TASS in English 2211 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 6 TASS—A team of twenty U.S.Government nuclear testing experts will depart on January 7 for the Soviet Union where they will visit the Soviet nuclear test site at Semipalatinsk in Kazakhstan, Charles Redman, official spokesman for the U.S. Department of State, announced on Tuesday.

The team is headed by Ambassador Robert B. Barker, the head of the U.S. delegation to the nuclear testing talks in Geneva.

The spokesman also said that a group of Soviet experts would be in the United States January 23 to 30 for a reciprocal visit to the U.S. nuclear test site in Nevada.

Mr. Redman recalled that agreement to conduct these reciprocal visits had been reached during the first round of the U.S.-Soviet nuclear testing talks in Geneva.

"These visits are intended to enable each side to familiarize itself with the conditions and operations at the other's test site," the State Department spokesman said.

"The familiarization visits will provide the basis for the design and conduct of joint verification experiments at each other's test site in order to improve verification of the TTBT (Threshold Test Ban Treaty) and the PNET (Peaceful Nuclear Explosions Treaty)".

U.S.-CSSR Agree on Inspections in CSSR

LD051947 Moscow TASS in English 1936 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Prague January 5 TASS—In view of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Government of Czechoslovakia and the U.S. Administration have agreed on inspections in Czechoslovak territory.

On the strength of the agreement which will take effect simultaneously with the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty, U.S. inspectors will be given an opportunity to exercise control over appropriate facilities in Czechoslovakia.

Notes on inspections were exchanged in Prague today between representatives of the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the U.S. Embassy in Czechoslovakia, the CTK news agency reported.

Arab States Urge Meeting of Security Council

LD051758 Moscow TASS in English 1725 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 5 TASS—The group of Arab states in the United Nations asked for an urgent meeting of the Security Council.

They said in a letter to the U.N. secretary-general issued today that they thought it imperative for the council to examine the situation in occupied Arab territories.

A total of 25 Palestinians have been killed and more than a thousand arrested as a result of Israeli occupationists' ruthless repressive actions against people taking part in massive protests in the West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip over the past four weeks.

Resolution Adopted on Israel

LD060730 Moscow TASS in English 0719 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 6 TASS—The U.N. Security Council has expressed deep anxiety over the situation in the occupied Palestinian territories. At its urgent meeting Tuesday called at the request of the group of Arab countries, it unanimously adopted a resolution urging Israel to refrain from the deportation of Palestinians from the occupied lands.

The Security Council noted the need for Israel to comply with the commitments under the 1949 Geneva Convention on the protection of civilian population during war, confirming that it is applicable to the Israeli-occupied territories.

'Bold' Turn to Peace Needed

LD061135 Moscow TASS in English 1130 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 (TASS)—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

A resolution adopted by the Security Council at its urgent meeting Tuesday expresses deep anxiety over the situation in the Israeli-occupied territories and reflects the point of view of the whole of the world public, it is believed in Soviet diplomatic quarters.

Attention is drawn here to the need to take undelayed actions to settle the Middle East conflict. Such is the imperative of the time. Peoples will never reconcile themselves to have their lawful rights ignored. The courageous resistence offered by the Palestinian people to the "mailed fist" policy enacted by the Israeli invaders furnishes one more proof of this. A decisive and bold turn towards the quest for fair and honest peace is necessary.

In the opinion of the Soviet Union, the convocation of a U.N.-sponsored international conference on the Middle East with the participation of the five permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and all parties involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO), the sole lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine, should become the only reasonable step in this direction.

The task now is to pave the way towards a full-fledged international conference. The USSR is set to carry out a constructive work on this problem at the U.N. Security Council and in contacts with all parties concerned.

The task of the conference is to attain genuine peace in the Middle East. It is meant to work out solutions to all aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, including a worthy settlement of the Palestine problem. Respect for the independence of each state, the right of any people to choose an independent way of development in conditions of security should underlie the work of the conference.

NOVOSTI's Falin on Bonn-Moscow Relations

DW061245 Hamburg BILD in German 6 Jan 88 pp 1,4

[Interview with Valentin Falin, NOVOSTI chief and adviser to Gorbachev, by correspondent Wolfgang Kenntemich; date and place not given]

[Text] Valentin Falin, adviser to Gorbachev and chief of the official news agency NOVOSTI, suggests "regular top level meetings between German and Soviet politicians." In the wake of Strauss' visit to Moscow, Falin said to BILD: "Contacts at high levels are important. We need new dynamics on both sides."

BILD: When will General Secretary Gorbachev visit us?

Falin: After Foreign Minister Shevardnadze's visit to Bonn in late January, both sides will know more.

BILD: How good are the chances for better relations between Bonn and Moscow?

Falin: The basis for the further development of our relations has become broader. Both sides have more clarity about intentions, plans, and possibilities for the development of mutual and international relations.

BILD: What role does Bonn play in East-West relations?

Falin: That role must not be underrated. I believe, for example, that the FRG could push negotiations on the elimination of chemical weapons. We expect clear thinking by the Federal Government in connection with efforts to destroy those weapons and discontinue their production.

BILD: Why do you not eliminate the preponderance in conventional weapons?

Falin: Our proposals on that were submitted to the West last May. So far we have not received a substantive response. The West keeps pointing out imbalances in weapons. I cannot understand why we do not sit down for a while and compare figures without polemics to find out what must be done to achieve a balance on as low a level as possible. The Soviet Union and its allies are Prepared to resume negotiations immediately.

BILD: Strauss asked for a reduction in Rust's prison term.

Falin: A proverb: The longer it rains, the better the chances that the weather will improve.

Briefs

Cooperation Statistics Noted

Moscow January 5 TASS—The Soviet Union has intergovernmental agreements on economic and technological cooperation with 84 countries as of the beginning of 1988. 3,300 projects have been built on their basis with Soviet assistance in various countries. Another 2,000 projects are under construction. The USSR grants easy-term credits to many developing nations. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 5 Jan 88 LD*]

United States & Canada

Chernyshev Calls For Annulment of SDI Directive

LD051940 Moscow TASS in English 1845 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 5 TASS—TASS military news analyst Vladimir Chernyshev writes:

Four years ago, on January 6, 1984, Ronald Reagan signed Directive 119 which set the beginning of research under the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) program.

Over the time that has passed since, the U.S. Administration has already spent 9,000 million dollars on the research and is planning to spend another 37,000 million dollars on research and development in the coming five years.

Total costs of the production and deployment of the contemplated large-scale missile defence system with echelons of space arms would amount to one to three trillion dollars.

Looking back upon the past, one can see clearly that the proclamation of the SDI, whatever the propaganda cover, was a logical expression of the policy and those military-strategic concepts which the Ronald Reagan administration adopted at that time. The "countervailing" strategy with regard to the USSR, the strategy of achieving a U.S. "full and incontestable military superiority", and "restoring America's leading role in the world" was the basis on which SDI sprang up.

The dreams of world hegemony hypnotised the U.S. ruling circles. It became Washington's principal idea to achieve military superiority by projecting the arms race into outer space which was to be saturated with American strike weapon systems. The purpose of SDI was to try to find a way for a guaranteed destruction of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and at the same time to make the United States "invulnerable" in a nuclear conflict.

All that was being supplemented by U.S. leadership spokesmen's statements to the effect that arms limitation would hardly be of benefit in the 1980s, that the administration would not waste time for that, and that it was impossible to secure a compromise between "good and evil", i.e. between the United States and the Soviet Union. The main thing was belief in an inexhaustible financial-economic and military-technological resources of the United States and in U.S. capability to wage a nuclear war and to win it.

Since then much has changed both in the world and in the United States itself. At the Soviet-U.S. summit meetings—at first in Geneva and quite recently in Washington—President Reagan signed documents which solemnly proclaim the conviction that nuclear war cannot be won and should never be fought.

The Soviet Union and the United States signed the treaty on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons on a global scale. It was pointed out that there was considerable headway towards concluding a treaty on a 50 percent cut in the strategic offensive arms of the Soviet Union and the United States. Taking this into consideration, the leaders of the two countries instructed their delegations in Geneva to work out an accord which would make it binding upon the sides to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it had been signed in 1972 and not to withdraw from it within an agreed period.

Something else transpired, too: The unbridled arms race most seriously undermined the U.S. economy: The budget deficit over seven years bounced up from 58,500 million dollars in 1981 to 221,000 million dollars in 1987. The national debt amounted to more than 2,300,000 million dollars. A considerable disorder of the country's entire credit-and-monetary sphere is manifest. U.S. international economic positions have been weakened. If things go on in this way, the U.S. national debt may amount to 13,000,000 million dollars by the year 2000.

As far as the SDI itself is concerned, hardly anyone even in Washington doubts following the research that has been conducted that it is impossible to achieve superiority by means of SDI.

Upon deployment of space strike weapons, strategic stability would sharply decline, and the security of all countries, including that of the United States, would diminish. The Soviet Union's counter measures to deployment of U.S. SDI would be by far cheaper.

Why then the U.S. leadership's views still remain unchanged in everything concerning a continuation of the SDI program? Those views obviously run counter to the definitely changing perception of realities? Opportunities have now opened up for advance to a nuclear-free world and to complete elimination of all nuclear missiles, in "defence" against which SDI is ostensibly intended to serve as a shield.

The Soviet Union and the United States have made a joint step along the way. Why should one spend huge sums of money on "defence" against the weapons which can be eliminated?

Where is the pragmatism which the Americans are proud of? Is not it time to annul Directive 119 and to abandon the "Star Wars" program which epitomised imprudence and a desire to squander money?

Weapons Expert Surikov Interviewed on SDI

LD052102 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1900 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (TASS)—Under the heading "Robot at Nuclear Control Panel? SDI Advocates Want an Electronic Brain, Not a Human, To Decide Whether

There Should Be a War," IZVESTIYA today carries an interview with Major General of Aviation Boris Surikov, the government expert on new varieties and systems of mass destruction weapons. Touching on the functioning of systems for warning of the start of an attack from space, the Soviet expert said that "advocates of SDI plan to spacelift autonomous decision-making systems, to create a supercomplex control system, to fit it with principally new artificial intelligence elements. If these plans are implemented, the destiny of the world will depend on the correct adjustment of control systems and the superelectronic brain's reliability. The powers for making fatal decisions are going to be handed over to robots. It is they who will, in a matter of seconds, in the framework of the received program, decide, whether they should pass a death sentence on humanity, to execute it or not. They will not ask people."

In conjunction with the anxiety expressed by IZVESTIYA readers who ask could it happen that after the elimination of the strategic nuclear armaments of the USSR and the United States, after we scrap everything, could the United States then suddenly create a new weapon, against which we would have no protection, Maj Gen Surikov said: "No, it is not going to be like that. Everything has been carefully considered with participation of the military, scientists, designers. The creation of SDI, of other new varieties and systems of armaments, takes time and involves trials of all parts not only in laboratory conditions, but also test-range experiments. At the moment, the Americans are checking their ideas with the help of computers. In my view, the models that are being analyzed are absolutely nonsensical. The Pentagon can only enter into the program what we have got today. They know the approximate specifications of our missiles, they can make an approximate assessment of the number of false targets [lozhnykh tseley] on each missile and can approximately deduce what kind of means, including active ones, we will create to counter theirs."

But their mistake lies in the fact that the advocates of the "Star Wars" program do not and cannot know what kind of retaliation weapons we can create in 10-15 years. But they will be created sooner than the implementation of SDI. Naturally, the USSR will only get down to developing more efficient weapons in case the United States implements its new offensive programs.

Vice President Bush Speaks on Relations

LD052335 Moscow TASS in English 2326 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Washington January 6 TASS—U.S. Vice President George Bush made a speech in the National Press Club on Tuesday. He devoted a considerable portion of his speech to American-Soviet relations.

Mr. Bush said the INF Treaty signed in December had become a big step forward in relations with the Soviet Union. The vice-president voiced hope that the INF Treaty would be endorsed by the Senate. He pointed out that what is important is not only that a small part of nuclear arsenals is being eliminated but also that the two sides are changing the patterns of the past.

However the U.S. vice-president's further pronouncements did not at all testify to a desire to change the 'patterns of the past' when applied to other important international issues.

Thus, he spoke of the need to continue to give all-round U.S. aid to counter-revolutionary forces in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, reaffirmed his support for the SDI program, and made it clear he considered it necessary to conduct talks with the Soviet Union from the position of strength.

Combat Laser Tests in California Discussed

LD052330 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1930 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Reports from the United States state that tests have been underway in California for several days of a combat [boyevoy] laser. Here is a commentary with Aleksandr Korshonov at the microphone:

[Korshonov] This has been reported inter alia by Reuter agency. It follows from its dispatch that U.S. specialists are experimenting with a so-called Alpha chemical laser with a capacity of about 2 million watts. It is true that these are far from being the first tests, but they are still the most extensive to date. Back in November, a laser apparatus hit a target missile in flight at the White Sands test site in New Mexico. General Abrahamson, who heads the agency implementing the Strategic Defense Initiative, expressed open delight over it, while the U.S. Defense Department pointed out that the ray destroyed important components of the target missile.

Whereas there may have been cause for jubilation from the technical point of view for Gen Abrahamson and his colleagues, for all those concerned in disarmament, such experiments can only arouse the opposite feelings. The aforementioned tests with laser weapons were called the first shots in "Star Wars" by the French bourgeois paper LE FIGARO— far from being a pro-Soviet paper incidentally—and events of recent days show that Washington is energetically going down the road of space strike weapons. What can this lead to? This is no closely-guarded secret. As you recall, agreement was reached at the Washington summit on elaborating in 1988 an agreement on 50% cuts in the arsenals of United States and Soviet strategic weapons, and strict observance of the ABM Treaty, which hinders the transfer of the arms race into space, was recognized as a necessary condition.

And, incidentally, plans are being prepared to carry out tests of the Alpha laser in earth orbit in 3 years time. The danger of this step, its extremely negative consequences for the whole process of arms cuts are obvious to any unbiased person. Only advocates of the Strategic Defense Initiative are an exception here.

U.S. Political Group Attends Moscow Conference

LD052249 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 5 Jan 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] A conference of the USSR Committee of Youth Organizations and the American Council of Young Political Leaders ended in Moscow today. The U.S. delegation includes people who participated in youth exchanges between our countries in the seventies, who have now become congressmen, high-ranking staffmembers of the U.S. Administration, and people occupying influential posts in the country's business, political, and public circles. [passage omitted]

For 2 days, those taking part in the meeting examined a wide range of problems connected with strengthening bilateral relations and resolving regional conflicts as well as issues of importance to all mankind. Despite the differences existing between them, both the Soviet and the U.S. participants in the meeting unanimously emphasized that a nuclear catastrophe threatens the whole of mankind with annihilation and that at the present time there is, and can be, no alternative to peaceful coexistence, but this requires unflagging efforts and carrying out concrete action.

China

PRC Diplomat Sees INF Treaty as 'Good Start'

PM051325 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China: Tendency Toward Detente"]

[Text] Beijing—The international situation in 1987 was tortuous and complex, and many problems connected with hot spots were not resolved, but the general situation in the world today is less tense than a year ago.

This is the viewpoint of Chinese diplomat Gong Dafei. He was formerly PRC vice foreign minister and ambassador to many countries, and now works as senior consultant in Beijing's Institute for International Strategic Studies. In his view, a clear sign of the easing of tension can be seen in the signing of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on the elimination of two classes of missiles. Even though the quantity of nuclear weapons which the two powers intend to destroy amounts to 4-5% of the nuclear arsenal, this treaty is a good start and favors talks on the question of a 50% reduction of strategic offensive nuclear arms.

Gong Dafei said in an interview with a XINHUA correspondent: M. Gorbachev has advocated new thinking in the solution of domestic and foreign policy problems. The Soviet Union's foreign policy really serves the strategy of acceleration. As for the United States, Gong Dafei noted, it is encountering difficulties in competition with the Soviet Union due to the economic situation in the country and other factors. In Gong Dafei's view, the tendency toward easing of international tension will be maintained during the just over 10 years remaing until the end of this century, even though he does not expect any strategic changes in the international situation.

Ivanov on 1987 PRC-USSR Trade, 1988 Prospects

OW060418 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 1500 GMT 3 Jan 88

["Current Events and Commentaries" program on 1987 Soviet-Chinese trade; presented by station observer Ivanov]

[Text] Dear listeners, 1987 saw marked growth in Soviet-Chinese economic relations and trade. Our station observer Ivanov writes:

Trade between the USSR and China has increased 10 times in the past 5 years. According to a 5-year trade and payment agreement, the trade volume totalled R12 billion. Yearly trade volume between the USSR and China is set at R3 billion up to 1990. Dear listeners, you know this is way below our two countries' capabilities. How was our bilateral trade last year?

In 1987 China purchased from the USSR 20 TU-154M aircraft, automobiles, machinery, non-ferrous and ferrous metals, timber, etc., while the USSR imported from China tungsten, fluorite, light industry products, and various kinds of traditional Chinese export goods.

In 1987, Soviet and Chinese trade representatives met in Beijing and on 28 December signed a barter and payment agreement for 1988 that is intended to greatly increase the bilateral trade volume and variety of goods. For instance, besides above-mentioned goods, China will also supply the USSR with machinery and chemical products.

The Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade Boris Ivanovich Aristov, in an interview with reporters, also mentioned the already-signed agreement. He said: 1988 is a very promising year in terms of Soviet-Chinese economic cooperation. This year's bilateral trade volume will increase by 25% over that of last year.

Holding export products shows in each other's cities has become a good practice. The export products show sponsored by Heilongjiang Province and held in Blagoveshchensk was a success. It helped extend the USSR's purchase orders. There is no doubt that further promoting our bilateral economic relations and trade will have a positive impact on accelerating socialist economic development in the USSR and China.

Northeast Asia

DPRK 'Monumentalism,' Lifestyle Examined

PM051045 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

["IZVESTIYA Travelogue" by K. Geyvandov, R. Lynev, and G. Charodeyev: "People and Monuments"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Journalistic exchanges between IZVESTIYA and MINJU CHOSON, organ of the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly and State Administration Council, have become traditional over the last few years. A delegation from our newspaper recently visited the DPRK again at the invitation of our foreign colleagues. We publish below some of the delegation members' impressions from their travels.

Pyongyang-Moscow—The first thing you hear on waking in Pyongyang in the morning is music. It is "carried" around the city at first light by buses fitted with loudspeakers to wake the people. Switch on the radio, and you'll hear more marches and songs, with the announcer's voice calling for new and greater deeds.

...A cold dawn. Huge multistory blocks loom in the dim light. Electric lights are being switched off, and the daylight reveals the two main colors of the Korean capital—blue and red. The sun rises in the pale blue sky. The outlines of the distant districts and hills surrounding the city are lost in bluish haze. The uniforms worn by young girls controlling the rather light traffic are also blue. Despite the morning chill, many people in the streets are not wearing overcoats. Instead, they wear the traditional high-collar jackets and peaked caps, also in blue.

The ceremonious color red can be seen in the slogans across the pediments of buildings, in the bookstore windows, and in the young pioneers' neckerchiefs—children march to school in ranks and singing, with badges depicting President Kim Il-song on their chests. Working people form lines—unusually disciplined, standing one behind the other—and pack the buses and trolleybuses to overflowing: The capital has more than 200 enterprises manufacturing more than one-fifth of the country's industrial output—electric locomotives, trolleybuses, motors, vacuum cleaners. Pyongyang in the morning...

Whence this style, solemnly elated and at the same time ascetic? It is sufficient to recall that only 35 years ago this 2,000-year-old city was reduced to ruins and ashes. Just like Hiroshima. It is sufficient to recall that even now the country is living only in conditions of armistice rather than peace, that the armistice line lies only 2 hours away from Pyongyang by car. That the adjoining side, the South, whose economic potential has been developed to very impressive dimensions, has all these years been receiving generous military, technological, and financial contributions from outside while the North has proclaimed reliance on its own resources to be one of the main principles of its development. Which makes its experience attractive for those in the "Third World" who are striving for more than just legal independence.

Why recall all this, which is so well-known to many people? In order to perceive the point up to which analogies can be drawn between our familiar reality and the reality we saw here, and the point from which these analogies and parallels are useless and may lead away from understanding.

But let us get back to Pyongyang. One can imagine the tremendous efforts that the people had to make to raise it from the ruins. Monumentalism certainly is one of the city's main features. It is somewhat similar to our monumentalism that is receding into the past. But it is perhaps superior to it in scale and impressiveness.

There is a different Pyongyang—high-rise blocks,plastic, concrete. Including 45-story hotels with soft rugs, Japanese technology, restaurants for the few foreigners.

"It's Kalinin Prospekt," one of us could not resist the analogy. But he immediately changed his mind. It was not just a matter of the architecture, which, though modern, still has an oriental air here; it was something quite different. It is hard to imagine Kalinin Prospekt without a crowd of people—a motley, bustling, noisy crowd either buying something or looking for something to buy. But here the streets and squares are bare. Since produce is allocated according to norms, there are few customers in the stores. At the same time, there is not a single newspaper or flower kiosk to be seen, there are no hawkers' stands. On the other hand, there are many servicemen around. Every now and again you see a cycle rickshaw.

We were in the DPRK at a notable time—the people were laying in their winter supplies of kimchi cabbage, a product that is as popular in Korea as potatoes in our country. In a month or so, as spring approaches, it will have turned in a very spicy dish, our guide Kang Chong-chol told us. But now the green kimchi was to be seen everywhere—heaped in yards and on balconies, loaded in vehicles. If you leave the city, you see it in buffalo carts and in the backpacks carried by a string of people either walking along or pedaling their bicycles. They are modestly dressed, they evidently have a long way to go, and their patience is inexhaustible.

It is indeed patience, undemandingness [nepritvazatelnost], and industry that are the three pillars providing the foundations for Pyongyang's palaces and plants, for the rice plantations which descend in terraces down to the highway; the highway itself is a level freeway running westward, to the sea and the port of Nampo, which lies further downstream along the Taedong River. The 8-km long Western Sea Dam was built at the river estuary, its size again reminiscent of our own huge construction projects on the Volga, Yenisey, and Angara Rivers. Just imagine: Eight km, and every single meter of the dam contains 3,000 cubic meters of gravel, rock, and concrete. Korean construction workers are not as well-supplied as their Soviet colleagues with equipment—bulldozers, dumper trucks, cranes. Local construction sites employ more manual labor, but the equipment that is available is used carefully, at full capacity.

How much did the installation cost? "Four billion dollars," we were told. Actually, we realized that people here are rather reluctant to discuss the cost of particular projects.

But construction times are an indicator that they do openly mention to visitors. In this respect the gigantic dam which we visited was really, by local standards, a very protracted project, since its construction took 5 years. The usual time taken to construct even major and complex projects, including a 105-story hotel (the only one in the world, by the way!) whose foundations are already laid, is 18 months.

"What are the costs? How much did this cost?" Our own life and the changes taking place in it teach us to ask questions like these increasingly often. But, on many occasions in Korea, when such questions were asked they somehow rebounded and forced us to turn again to our own reality at home and its problems.

This happened, for example, at the Sariwon sewn goods factory, which is involved in production sharing with a whole number of Soviet enterprises. Several of our specialists are on assignment in this city to monitor the quality of output to fulfill Soviet orders. The quality, as the emissaries of our Ministry of Light Industry admit, is good and stable. The only trouble is that containers with finished products have been standing around for more than a month now, waiting to be shipped to customers in the USSR. There are no means of transportation available.

There was, of course, no need to travel as far as Sariwon to observe such a thing—we could have seen it also at home. But here is the idea which crossed our minds. Where there is no economic accountability—and it is still nonexistent here in Sariwon—nobody asks: "What does all this cost?" As for us, who so frequently speak about the salutary effect of economically accountable commodity-money relations, why do we not start by calculating our own gains and losses? What is, for example, the cost of shipping textiles, accessories, and patterns all the way from Kaluga, Leningrad, and the Ukraine here to the north of the DPRK, and transporting finished sewn goods back? Would it not be more natural to establish production sharing between Sariwon and Vladivostok or Khabarovsk?

The conversation turned again to economics at the Chkhongen [name as published] cooperative. Seated across the broad desk in the office, the cooperative chairman told us what area they had sown to what crops, what equipment has been placed at the farm's disposal, and how steadily life is improving: Every worker receives 300 kg of rice a year as payment in kind. He was an experienced chairman. Even though the crops mentioned in his briefing were, of course, local—rice, soybeans, corn—the problems we discerned were very similar, familiar. Right up to the fact that our neighbors in the DPRK, as we have, have adopted a food program which is as yet being fulfilled only with difficulty.

The conversation turned, almost automatically, from the general problems of agriculture to the principles of remuneration in the cooperative. The question was asked: What would happen if a peasant family were to conclude a contract pledging to cultivate and deliver a certain quantity of produce, but with the right to deal as it pleases with anything over and above this quantity? This is by no means an idle question as regards the Korean working person, who is capable of not only cultivating a good harvest but also of marketing what he has grown. It was no accident that at this point the chairman interrupted his narrative and remarked: "This may be what we need." He immediately followed with the question: "And what is the position with you, in the Soviet Union, in this respect?"

"The visit may be brief, but the visitor sees much," according to the oriental saying. Of course, any self-respecting host wants to show himself and his home off to best advantage. An incident comes to mind, not part of our program but nevertheless interesting, in our opinion. We were looking at the monumental sculpture groups at the Central Historical Museum. A bronze sculpture of President Kim Il-song, many meters high, rises high in the center. A broad stairway with many steps leads from the square outside the museum up to the sculpture, and as you walk up, you have many opportunities to compare your human insignificance with what you are climbing toward.

We saw neither visitors nor bystanders at that hour. But several buses suddenly drew up outside the museum and let out about 200 young men and women, dressed extremely properly but not in the Pyongyang fashion. They all wore black and white suits, neckties, and the girls wore snow-white knee-length socks. Each one of them wore a badge on the chest and carried a DPRK flag. Forming straight lines at the foot of the monument, they obeyed their senior's command and froze in a low bow.

Afterwards, the senior raised both hands, shouted some slogans, and the lines of young people echoed: "Banzai!" This was repeated several times.

These were students of Korean descent visiting from Japan. We were told that a total of about 900,000 Koreans live in the Japanese islands. There are quite a few wealthy people and even millionaires among them. They travel increasingly often here, to the north of Korea, and express their patriotism not only in the fashion described above but also by donating funds for the construction of important projects and supplying the Republic with modern technological equipment. Pyongyang's best hospital, which—as Comrade Cha Kyong-suk, who accompanied us, told us—means a hospital fitted with the latest medical equipment and providing the highest standards of service, was not only built with funds supplied by one such "Japanese" Korean but was also named for him.

We were given to understand that these ties are strengthening and their prospects are broadening. This window alone—slowly and creakily, but inexorably and fearlessly opening to another world—is surely a sign that the North Korean society, which may appear slow-moving to an outside observer, is actually capable not only of perceiving the developing need for changes within itself but of swiftly implementing these changes?

Today's routine in the life of an ordinary citizen of the Republic is—simply speaking, of course—as follows: 8 hours work, 8 hours study, 8 hours rest. We do not intend to either criticize or praise this routine, but here is what we observed on the capital's streets every evening. There are few people to be seen in the streets, especially after 2100 hours. The city not only rises early, it also goes to bed early. For some time beforehand, almost all of Pyongyang's windows shine with an identically even light. As if for the last time, looking forward to the night, everything that can be illuminated is and takes its cue from the main landmark source of light—a huge electric torch in the city center, installed on top of a high tower. This torch is the symbol of the ideas which determine the path of the country and the people.

But the lights in the windows swiftly go out. The windows and displays of cafes and stores go dark even earlier. The only light comes from advertising signs. Suddenly you see in this light someone standing next to the store, reading a book. Who can it be? A worker? School pupil? Student? Whoever he may be, obviously the 8 hours allocated for study were not enough. He wishes to know more. He is borrowing from the 8 hours allocated for rest.

We don't know about anyone else, but we rather liked this image, one of the many images of Democratic Korea. We perceived in it something that is more indicative of the country and its people than statistics, propaganda, and monuments in the squares.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Sihanouk-Hun Sen To Meet Again in January

BK050315 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 4 Jan 88

[Text] The national reconciliation policy is producing results not only in Afghanistan but in Cambodia as well.

According to our observer, Comrade (Larisa Elena), this country was plunged into destruction and suffering during the U.S. war in Indochina and then under the Pol Pot genocidal regime, which massacred over 3 millions of its own people. Cambodia is painfully recovering from this destructive situation. It is really in need of skillful hands. Cambodia is very much in need of peace and security along its border.

The Cambodian Government declared its national reconciliation policy last August. The essence of this policy is to rally all Cambodians behind a peaceful future and progress for the country. Phnom Penh expresses its readiness to cooperate with various Cambodian groups and their leaders. For those who have been misled by enemy propaganda and have deserted the country and nation, the government has promised to give them the opportunity to be reunited with their families, to receive their full citizen rights, and to start a new life.

An intermediate step toward resolving the Cambodian problem was made in December. At a town not far from Paris, a meeting to exchange views was held between Comrade Chairman of the Cambodian Council of Ministers Hun Sen and Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, the country's former leader who was toppled in 1970 and who is currently leader of an opposition party.

The main result of the meeting was that the situation has been loosened; this shows a political solution to the existing problem is possible and should be found. A few days ago, the two sides agreed to meet for a second time in January, again on French territory. This news has brought happiness to those who are really interested in quickly restoring a just and correct peace to the suffering land of Cambodia.

Near East & South Asia

Shevardnadze Departs Afghanistan 6 Jan

LD061235 Moscow TASS in English 1226 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Kabul January 6 (TASS)—Eduard Shevardnadze, a member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, today left for home after a working visit to the Republic of Afghanistan.

He was seen off at the Kabul International Airport by Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, prime minister and a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and other officials.

Further on Armacost's Visit to Pakistan

Meets With Afghan Rebels

LD052154 Moscow TASS in English 2129 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] New York January 5 TASS—U.S. Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs Michael Armacost, on a visit in Pakistan, had a meeting in Islamabad with five out of the seven heads of bands of Afghan counter-revolutionaries basing on the Pakistani territory. According to a report of the Associated Press, the U.S. emissary assured counter-revolutionaries that the United States would continue supporting them. "I am very happy about the meeting", said Gilani, leader of one of the counter-revolutionary groups, upon the conversation with Armacost. He said it had been "a very good and very helpful meeting" because Americans support them and promised to continue supporting them. With a reference to well-informed sources, the news agency notes that Armacost brought a letter from President Reagan to Afghan rebel leaders.

Armacost also held talks with Pakistan's first deputy foreign minister Abdus Sattar. They discussed questions related to U.S. aid to Pakistan, the Pakistani nuclear programme, the Persian Gulf situation. Special attention at the talks was given to the situation around Afghanistan. Armacost paid a visit to President of Pakistan Ziaul Haq.

More Talks With Sattar

LD061030 Moscow TASS in English 0943 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Islamabad January 6 TASS—Michael Armacost, U.S. undersecretary of state for political affairs, has held the second round of talks with Abdus Sattar, Pakistani first deputy foreign minister. The sides exchanged views on questions of mutual interest and agreed to hold additional talks on Thursday.

The talks covered the situation in the region and in the Persian Gulf, U.S. aid to Pakistan and the Pakistani-U.S. relations as a whole.

Armacost has cancelled the planned trip to the area of the Pakistani-Afghan border and held a meeting here with the leaders of the anti-Afghan troops with the participation also of official representatives of the Pakistani Government.

Later in the day, Michael Armacost paid a visit to Pakistani Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo and exchanged views with him on questions of mutual interest.

Afghan Rebel Describes Training in Iran

PM051009 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent D. Meshchaninov dispatch under the rubric "Eye-Witness Testimony": "Profession: Saboteur"]

[Text] Centers for training and equipping counterrevolutionary gangs, which are then sent to Afghanistan, are operating on Iranian territory. The majority of the dushmans get compulsory "practice" on the Iran-Iraq front. Your correspondent met with 25-year old Sa'id Ahmad, who completed the full course in one of Tehran's special schools. This is his story.

The Khatam ol-Anbiya' School, where I was trained, is located in a suburb of the Iranian capital called Fars Abadan. Iranians used to be trained there, but from March 1986 the school was completely handed over to the command of dushman "committees." I was one of the very first group of recruits. There were almost no days off. Leaving the city was forbidden.

The school is located in a four-story building, containing training auditoriums, a hostel, and a kitchen with a dining room. Nearby is a spacious parade ground. The entire territory is surrounded by a high fence. Students themselves are on guard inside. "Islamic Revolutionary Guards" are on duty outside around the clock. Some 1,200 Afghans were assembled. We were divided into two courses depending on our age, and these in turn were divided into groups of 100-150 men. An Iranian called Hakim Javadi ran the school.

The training lasted 3 months. Every day before lunch there were six classes. The Iranians led the basic subjects. Hojja taught tactics, 'Alavi taught the use of explosives, and Rezazadeh taught combat training. They had all fought for some years on the Iran-Iraq front. We were taught how to use all types of small arms, how to fire heavy mortars, recoiling guns, and howitzers, and how to place mines and fougasses. We also mastered methods of hand-to-hand fighting. One of the classes was sure to be devoted to conducting anti-government propaganda on Afghanistan territory.

After lunch practical classes began at a range outside Tehran. Almost every night an alarm roused us, and once again we were taken to the range where we mastered night combat tactics. In conducting combat training operations, we were often forced to use chemical weapons: tear-gas cartridges and grenades. Once I was severely poisoned. Since that time, my eyes water constantly.

Occasionally, when we did not go out at night to the range but stayed in school, CW alarms were conducted. In various parts of the barracks, tear-gas grenades exploded, and blank cartridges were fired. We had to jump out of bed instantly, put on our gas masks, grab our weapons, and apply ourselves to perimeter defense. Those who did not manage to put on their gas masks were seriously poisoned. In addition, they were punished: The Iranian instructors kicked them and beat them with their rifle butts. Several dozen men were seriously injured during their training.

After 3 months, all the graduates were sent to the Iran-Iraq front. This was called "practice." We were divided into small groups led exclusively by Iranians. The commander of my group of 15 men was Sirus. When setting the combat task, he always repeated the same words: "Your basic aim is to kill."

Armed groups of Afghans are used in different sectors of the Iran-Iraq front. We took part in the operation codenamed "Karbala'-7" and operated basically in the Hajji-Mehran region.

Three times we were removed from the front and sent deep into the country. Once we were sent to Kordestan, where we assisted in catching "volunteers" for the "holy war," and at another time to the region of the cities of Mahabad and Taibad. This is where the road passes along by which Afghan refugees return to their country. With subunits of the regular Iranian army, we blocked the roads and arrested refugees. Then the Iranians "sorted out" people: Healthy men were sent to the training centers or straight to the front; women, children, and old people were forced to move further away from the Afghan-Iranian border. No one was allowed to return to their country....

Exactly 10 months later, we were sent back to Tehran. But by no means were all returned: More than 100 of our graduates were killed during the "practice" on the Iran-Iraq front. We were assembled on the parade ground. In the presence of all the students, Hakim Javadi congratulated us on finishing the school. I remember him saying: "You have received excellent theoretical and combat training. Now you are ready for the holy struggle for the happy future of your country, Afghanistan." I remembered his words when, a few months before crossing the border, an Iranian instructor yet again called upon us to blow up bridges, plants, power lines, schools, to kill party activists, and even ordinary Afghans if they supported the people's government or even held a neutral position.

Is it really possible to kill each other for the sake of Afghanistan's happy future? Can a fratricidal war really bring anyone happiness? No, something was wrong here. Our proverb says "You cannot wash away blood with blood." I decided not to share my doubts with those who illegally crossed the Iranian-Afghan border at night. But it turned out that I was not the only one to be tormented with doubt. During the next day, six men left the unit using various excuses. The commander promised to slaughter their families with his own hands. The threats had no effect on anyone; we had seen too much blood in the past year.

During the night I left the unit. There were three other men with me. We went our separate ways. I do not know where they are now. I hid for several months with relatives in Ghazni province. Then I decided to go to Kabul to relate what I had seen with my own eyes.

Adamishin in Delhi on South Africa, Afghanistan

LD051550 Moscow TASS International Service in Russain 1433 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Delhi, 5 Jan (TASS)—Anatoliy Adamishin, USSR deputy foreign minister, who is here in connection with the holding of regular political consultations with representatives of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, stressed at a press conference the usefulness of such consultations. He reported that in the course of the talks the parties exchanged views on matters connected with the situation in the south of Africa, discussed the situation on the African Continent as a whole, and examined certain other problems. Speaking of the economic dependence of the frontline states of the south of Africa on the RSA, Adamishin noted that this situation has been taking shape for decades, and is currently being artificially supported with the aid of the military machine of the RSA. The Soviet Union, India, the countries of the Nonaligned Movement, and also other states of the world are doing everything possible to ease the economic situation of these young African states, he said.

Anatoliy Adamishin explained the position of the USSR with regard to Afghanistan. We, he said, advocate resolving the situation in this country along two main avenues. The first is the talks in Geneva between Afghanistan and Pakistan through the mediation of UN Secretary General Cordovez. As is well-known, an accord has already been reached on many points of an agreement. There remains to coordinate a timetable for the withdrawal of Soviet troops. This is connected with the cessation of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan, which is being effected from the territory of Pakistan and not only from there. That is where the weapons come from, and it is there that other forms of interference are actively proselytized. The next round of talks is to be held in the middle of February. We would like this to be the last round. We would like a final accord to be achieved between Afghanistan and Pakistan, and we would like it to be possible to set about implementing this agreement, including the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The second avenue is national reconciliation in Afghanistan. This is the internal problem of the Afghans. What government they want to set up in their country, and the way they want to see their country, is their affair. This is not connected with the matters under discussion with the mediation of Cordovez.

Surguchev Views Purpose of Carlucci's Gulf Tour

LD051442 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0347 GMT 5 Jan 88

[From the "Commentator's Column" program; interview with Commentator Igor Surguchev by program presenter Georgiy Alekseyev; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Text] [Alekseyev] It is time for our international commentary. Today it is devoted to the start of the tour by Frank Carlucci, U.S. secretary of defense, of a number of countries in the Persian Gulf. He made his first stop in Kuwait. Later the Pentagon chief is to visit Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, and Oman. He will have talks with the leaders of these states and will also visit U.S. Navy vessels operating in the Persian Gulf and meet the commanders of the U.S. troops stationed in the region. One's attention is drawn to the fact that the U.S. Department of Defense has declined to explain the purposes of the tour Carlucci has begun. However, what can one expect of it, and why does Washington prefer not to expand on the aims of the tour by the U.S. secretary of defense? I ask our commentator, Igor Surguchev, to reply to these questions.

[Surguchev] The tactic of silence which official Washington has employed is most likely intended to conceal plans for the further expansion of the U.S. Navy forces in the Persian Gulf zone and for a broadening of their function until the time is right. Such a development of events is predicted by many U.S. observers and by observers in the Gulf countries. Such plans are not popular, either in the United States or in the states of the region, so the United States is refraining from making them public. That is one explanation, and one that seems most credible to me, taking into account the policy the administration has pursued so far in the Gulf.

[Alekseyev] However, a Pentagon spokesman maintains that there are no grounds for the reports about the U.S. Navy's intention to expand operations in the Gulf zone. The AP agency, referring to a Western diplomat in Bahrain, reports that at the end of Carlucci's tour, Washington may even adopt a decision to reduce the numbers of U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf. What can one say about this?

[Surguchev] I think that one should totally discount neither the refutation of the Pentagon spokesman nor the AP report. After all, in principle, a change in the U.S. approach to the problem of normalization of the situation in the Gulf zone is possible, although, unfortunately, there are hardly any signs of such a change. I say "hardly" because one sign has emerged. Recently, after long ignoring the Soviet proposal for creation of neutral international naval forces under the UN flag to guarantee freedom of navigation in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. Administration expressed a readiness to examine this proposal. One would like to hope that this is not just a matter of words. Moreover, it is not impossible that Carlucci's talks with the leaders of a number of Persian Gulf countries will prompt the United States to accept the constructive Soviet initiative, the implementation of which would not only guarantee the safety of shipping in the Gulf and eliminate the heightened tension there but also could promote creation of favorable condtions for a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq, on the basis of Security Council Resolution No 598.

[Alekseyev] Why do you expect that the Pentagon chief's talks with the leaders of the Persian Gulf countries might bring the United States closer to adopting our proposal?

[Surguchev] Well, primarily because as far as one can judge, these countries have no objection to the idea put forward by our country. The main thing for them is the safety of international shipping in the Gulf and, of course, the speediest ending of the Iran-Iraq conflict. The Soviet proposal is aimed at achieving both these goals. Apart from that, they know better in the Arab states of the Persian Gulf than anywhere else that the presence of an armada of NATO vessels in the region has not led to a reduction in attacks on cargo vessels but has just promoted a growth in tension. Here is what the AL-KHALIJ newspaper, published in the United Arab Emirates, wrote on the eve of Carlucci's visit: He should hear at every step that the military presence of his country in the Gulf has increased the dangers to international shipping and complicated the prospects for an end to the war and implementation of the UN resolution on a cease-fire.

[Alekseyev] In general, the arguments for replacing the naval forces of the NATO countries in the Gulf with a neutral squadron of the United Nations are indeed weighty, but will the Reagan administration take heed of them? That is the question.

[Surguchev] Yes, it all depends on whether Washington is prepared to change its approach to the interlinked problems of normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf and those of ending the Iran-Iraq war. If so, then the prospects for a peaceful settlement in this explosive region will improve considerably. However, if the aim of the tour Carlucci has begun is simply to demonstrate U.S. adherence to its already traditional militaristic and overtly anti-Iranian course, then one need not expect anything good from his mission. For the time being, one has more grounds to feel pessimistic than optimistic about the Pentagon chief's tour of the Persian Gulf region.

Palestinian Leader on 'New Stage' of Struggle

PM051433 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Nezmanov dispatch: "N. Hawatimah: 'We Will Struggle Through to Victory'"]

[Text] Algiers—The general popular uprising in the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and East Jerusalem, territories that have been under the heel of the Israeli occupiers for 20

years now, has marked the start of a new stage in the Palestinian people's struggle for their legitimate rights. Without the implementation of these rights, there can be no peace and security in the Near East, N. Hawatimah, general secretary of the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine (DFLP), stated during a meeting with journalists in the Algerian capital.

The Israeli occupation authorities, he said, are resorting to brutal punitive measures. Military tribunals are working flat out, sentencing demonstrators within 2 minutes. There are currently 1,200 people in the Ansar—2 concentration camp have been set up in the Gaza Strip, and camps in the region of Hebron and Nabulus have become incarceration centers for 1,500 Palestinians. More than 7,000 patriots in all have been jailed. Tel Aviv has appealed to the 1945 martial law used by the British colonizers. Following its predecessors' example, it intends resorting to mass deportation of active demonstrators to neighboring Arab countries.

But no reprisals will force the population of the Arab territories to end their campaign of massive civil disobedience until Israeli troops leave the towns, population centers, and the region where the Palestinian refugee camps are located, N. Hawatimah stressed.

At the present turning point in the development of the Near East conflict, he continued, the Palestinian resistance movement needs the extensive and active support of the international public more than ever. It must help prevent the planned deportation of Palestinians from their lands, to stop the process of further colonizing the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, and to force Israel to respect the 1949 Geneva Convention on the protection of civilian populations during wartime.

The general secretary of the DFLP advocated the stationing of UN forces in the Israeli-occupied Arab territories; these forces could safeguard the population's security and prepare the conditions for implementing the Palestinian people's rights to self-determination and independence. The route to implementation of these rights lies through holding an international peace conference on the Near East with the participation of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

Correction to Moscow Questioning Carlucci Tour

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "Moscow Questions Purpose of Carlucci Tour," published in the 5 January Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 23-24:

page 23:

column two, paragraph two, line eleven reads: ...which viewed the NATO military presence there (clearing indistinct word)

column two, paragraph three, line three reads: ...some states and disregarding the position of... (supplying indistinct word)

column two, paragraph three, line sixteen reads: ...showing no interest in this proposal. But its implementation would not only ensure the safety in the Gulf, but could also help facilitate a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq in accordance with Security Council... (clearing indistinct words)

page 24:

column one, line two from top of page, reads: ...Soviet initiative. This is pleasing, but words are worth little; specific actions are needed in the direction of organizing a UN naval force for the Persian Gulf. [new paragraph]

As far as one can judge, Arab states in the Gulf zone do not object to the organization of such a force. Therefore, one would hope that the opinions of their governments on this important matter will be brought to Carlucci's notice and, most importantly, taken into consideration by Washington. Then the results... (clearing indistinct words)

column one, paragraph one, line ten reads: ...to supporting it is in accordance with achieving this aim. And if it is the task of Carlucci's mission not only to affirm the immutability of the U.S.-NATO military presence in the region, nothing positive should be expected from it in... (clearing indistinct words)

East Europe

Kondrashov on Restructuring, CSSR 1968 Events

LD051219 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1042 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (TASS)—TASS Observer Aleksandr Kondrashov writes:

In the last few weeks, Czechoslovakia has once again begun to feature on the pages of the Western press. Virtually all the serious organs of the press in the United States and Western Europe have fired off literally a series of articles about the CSSR, giving assessments of its past, present, and future. At first signt, heightened attention of this kind is explicable. Important events have indeed taken place in the CSSR in recent weeks, like the adoption of the program for restructuring the economic mechanism and the democratization of society, and the election of Milos Jakes as CPCZ Central Committee general secretary. All the same, I think this merely has accelerated the unleashing by Western propaganda in the new year of 1988 of a long-planned anti-Czechoslovak campaign. Let us leave to the consciences of Western journalists the conjectures and pseudoforecasts with which they anticipated the December plenum, just as we do their present attempts not so much to predict as to

suggest the policy the Czechoslovak leadership should carry out. It is important to understand the reasons behind their excessively developed interest in Czechoslovak affairs.

Outwardly there is a convenient explanation for this: the whole series of anniversaries being marked this year by Czechoslovakia. The Western press is particularly drawn to the anniversary of the events of 1968, the start of which is generally dated from the CPCZ Central Committee January Plenum, which took place exactly 20 years ago, and at which Alexander Dubcek took over the ultimate party post. Judging by everything, it is about the dramatic turns in the development of the CSSR 20 years ago that the Western press is intending to talk in the near future. It is intending not simply to extol the "Prague Spring" or to denigrate the internationalist assistance rendered to the Czechoslovak people by the fraternal socialist countries, as it has done all these past years. As many publications now make clear, a more subtle approach has been selected. The notion is being thrust to the fore increasingly frequently and insistently that the restructuring and "glasnost" in the USSR are identical to many features of the "Prague Spring," and that the CPCZ leadership at that time was 20 years ahead of the CPSU in implementing reforms and democratization. It follows from this that the present CPCZ leadership must review the role of the leaders of the "Prague Spring" and grant the opposition freedom of action; in short, repeat what happened in the CSSR after January 1968.

In actual fact, "democratization," "renewal," and other slogans and appeals that appeared in the CSSR after the CPCZ Central Committee January (1968) Plenum are in many ways similar to those that are resounding widely in the Soviet Union at present. The January plenum itself—the decisions of which mentioned lasting unity with the USSR and further development of socialist democracy, consistent elimination of shortcomings in the economy and in the life of society, consolidating the alliance of Czechs and Slovaks on the basis of Leninist principles of nationalities policy—was an objectively necessary event in the life of the country and received complete support from most Communists and from the citizens of the CSSR. The question is, what came after it? Can there be talk of any similarity between what has gone into the political lexicon as the Czechoslovak events of 1968 and restructuring in the Soviet Union?

Let us compare, for example, the role of the party in the life of society in the USSR today and in Czechoslovakia 20 years ago. One can speak categorically of the strengthening of the leading role of the CPSU and of international recognition of the innovative theoretical and practical efforts of the CPSU at the contemporary stage, something which was so vividly demonstrated by the addresses of foreign participants in the recent anniversary celebrations in honor of the 70th anniversary of Great October. The January plenum decisions, however, in effect remained on paper since the right-wing opportunist CPCZ leadership of that time was unable to formulate any real program of action in the economy, in the social sphere, or in culture. Furthermore, its course led not only to the weakening of party positions, but also to the undermining of the foundations of socialism in the country. As a recent article in the paper RUDE PRAVO wrote: "This was the result of the formation within the very leadership of the party of a right-wing revisionist group, which by using demagogical slogans sought to revise the CPCZ general line, destroy the political structure of a socialist society on behalf of the petit bourgeois elements, and change the foreign policy direction of the CSSR. Thus it opened up a field of activity for antisocialist forces."

Let us also compare the way that restructuring in the USSR has affected relations with the socialist countries. These relations have undoubtedly been strengthened and enriched with new content. Meetings and contacts between the leaders of our countries have become more frequent and fruitful, and exchanges of experience has become wider and more specific. Cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA has been stepped up. All this is in striking contrast to the curtailment of the CSSR's foreign political, interparty, and cultural cooperation with its friends and allies, which occurred in 1968. One can now cite dozens of statements by party and state leaders of the socialist countries in support of the efforts being undertaken in the USSR to renew society. What has this in common with the expressions of alarm and concern for the very fate of socialism, which often were expressed to the then-leaders of the CPCZ by the leaders of the fraternal parties and countries in the course of meetings and visits in 1968?

One can also compare the role of such an important political instrument in society as the mass information media. True to its best traditions, the Soviet press has become the active aide of the party at the stage of restructuring. "The CPSU highly esteems the contribution of the mass information media to restructuring"—Such were the words addressed to journalists by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The role played by the mass information media in the CSSR in relation to the party 20 years ago may be characterized by just one quotation from the West German SPIEGEL magazine of mid-July 1968: "There already exists a real opposition party in Czechoslovakia, it is the press."

So what do Soviet restructuring and the 1968 events in the CSSR have in common?

What is it that the present Czechoslovak leadership should re-examine and repeat, especially following the recent CPCZ Central Committee December Plenum, which put forward a wide-ranging program of economic and social transformations?

No, however cunning and keen is the Western propaganda conception of what Soviet restructuring and the events in the CSSR 20 years ago have in common, this conception is hardly likely to influence people's awareness. This common factor lacks one quotient, the truth.

Honecker Letter to Kohl on U.S.-USSR Summit

LD051349 Moscow TASS in English 1256 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin January 5 TASS—The successful meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan in Washington has provided a good pretext for continuing dialogue between the German Democratic Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany on the contribution by the two German states to effective arms control and disarmament, Erich Honecker has said.

The general secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and president of the GDR State Council made the comment in a letter to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl of the FRG.

"The GDR is interested in nuclear disarmament in Europe immediately spreading to cover weapons systems with a range of less than 500 kilometers. This is what guided it, for example, when it proposed creating a nuclear-free zone in central Europe," Honecker said.

He also stressed the expediency of reducing tactical nuclear arms in the same package with armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

"If the FRG and its partners show readiness to renounce the modernization of some short-range weapons systems, it will be possible on the basis of equality and equal security to take steps to eliminate the asymmetry by way of disarmament, including new 'zero options' solutions," the leader of the GDR emphasized.

'European nations should not lose time. It is imperative to embark on talks on effective disarmament in the field of conventional weapons and on further confidence- and security-building measures," Honecker continued.

Both German states, he also noted in his letter, had repeatedly declared their keen interest in an early, general and reliably verifiable ban on the development, production, storage and application of chemical weapons.

SED Central Committee Congratulates Demichev

AU041334 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2-3 Jan 88 p 2

["Congratulations for Petr Demichev; Erich Honecker on the 70th Birthday of the Candidate Member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo"]

[Text] East Berlin (ND)—The SED Central Committee has sent the following telegram signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker to Petr Nilovich Demichev, first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium:

Esteemed Comrade Petr Nilovich Demichev: On the occasion of your 70th birthday, I convey most cordial congratulations to you on behalf of the SED Central Committee as well as on my own behalf.

As a long-standing member of the leadership of Lenin's party and in responsible state positions you have made and are making a great contribution to strengthening and deepening the fraternal alliance between our parties, states, an peoples, which is highly respected by the communists and all working people of the GDR. For this I would like to thank you very much on your day of honor.

Esteemed Comrade Petr Nilovich, I wish you good health and creative vigor for the future.

With communist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker,

General Secretary

Berlin, 3 January 1988

GDR's Fischer To Visit Mid-January

LD051729 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1643 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow, 5 Jan (TASS)—Oskar Fischer, SED Central Committee member and GDR minister of foreign affairs, is to make an official friendly visit to the USSR in mid-January. He has been invited by the Soviet Government.

General Snetkov Meets With SED's Stoph

LD052220 Moscow TASS in English 2158 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin January 5 TASS—Willi Stoph, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), received General of the Army Boris Snetkov, commander-in-chief of the body of Soviet Troops in Germany, here today.

A historic importance of the signing of the Soviet-U.S. INF Treaty was pointed out during an exchange of views on topical international issues.

The head of the GDR's Government emphasized that his country would continue actively to come out in favour of arms limitation and disarmament, fully to fulfil its obligations with regard to the other member-states of the Warsaw Treaty Organization, and to contribute to further strengtening fraternal cooperation with the Soviet Union.

Marchuk, Delegation Attend Jubilee in Warsaw

LD051458 Moscow TASS in English 1417 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw January 5 TASS—A jubilee session that opened in Warsaw today is devoted to the 30th anniversary of the signing of the agreement on scientific and technological cooperation between the academies of sciences of the Soviet Union and Poland. A large delegation of Soviet scientists headed by president of the USSR Academy of Sciences Guriy Marchuk takes part in the session.

The document signed three decades ago laid down a durable foundation for the development of fruitful ties between scientists and specialists of the two countries. Over this period the scopes of versatile interaction between the academies increased many-fold bringing tangible results in many areas of sciences and being of much effect for the national economies. More than 200 institutes, laboratories and research centres of the USSR Academy of Sciences maintain close cooperation with partners from the Polish Academy of Sciences on some 300 scientific themes.

PRAVDA Cites Alia, Li Peng New Year Messages

PM051041 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[PRAVDA-TASS roundup; "Entering 1988"]

[Excerpt] 2 Jan—[passage omitted] Beijing—Delivering a speech to mark the New Year, Li Peng, CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee member and acting premier of the PRC State Council, pointed out that in the coming year three major problems have to be tackled all in earnest. First, the stabilization of the economy and the deepening of reform. The main forces must be channeled toward the further implementation and improvement of various forms of the sub-contracting system of economic activity at enterprises, the mobilization of activeness and creative initiative, the development of technical innovation, the intensification and improvement of scientifically based management, the increasing of production, the expansion of the turnover sphere, and the boosting of economic efficiency. Second, the restructuring of the central organs' apparatus. The key links of this restructuring will be the regularizing of the apparatus structure and also the establishment of a government working apparatus on the principle of demarcation of the functions of party and government organs and also demarcation between government organs and enterprises. Third, the development by every means of socialist political democracy and the intensified building of spiritual culture.

Tirana—the outgoing year was a year of great efforts by the Albanian people to implement the program outlined by the 9th AWP Congress, R. Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and Albanian People's Assembly Presidium chairman, said in his greetings message to the Albanian people.

While pointing out definite achievements in the economy and other social spheres, the Albanian leader said: During 1987 we overcame numerous difficulties caused by bad weather. A harsh winter and the protracted drought which followed it severely affected such sectors as agriculture and electric power generation, which in turn had an adverse effect on production and market supply. But thanks to the work efforts of workers, peasants, and all the people we managed to limit the consequences of these difficulties. [passage omitted].

IZVESTIYA Notes Hungarian Food Subsidies End

PM050855 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Dec 87 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent B. Rodionov dispatch: "Measures To Stabilize the Economy"]

[Text] Budapest—In accordance with the stabilization program, as of 1 January, state subsidies on necessities are being abolished or sharply reduced in Hungary.

As a result retail food prices are rising by 10.7% on average. Prices of milk and dairy products show an especially significant increase: 27%.

As for industrial goods, some of them will be cheaper, while others will be more costly. The sharp hike in prices of children's goods will be largely offset by an increase in the monthly child allowance. Pensions are rising, but the state can provide only pensioners over the age of 70 with full compensation.

As of the new year, four-fifths of all retail prices will belong to the category of "free" prices, that is, prices not laid down centrally. It is expected that, as a result of the changes in the sphere of price formation and taxation, enterprises will be left with not 10 percent as at present, but 26% of their proceeds. This is to reinforce their material interest, accelerate technical progress, and stimulate production of competitive output, above all for export.

Soviet-Yugoslav Plant To Make Oil Flow Meters

PM051503 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 27 Dec 87 p 3

[A. Minayev report: "Precision Brings Profits"]

[Text] Accurate information is fundamental to decision-making. If it is lacking, the decision may turn out wrong. This axiom is particularly important when such information is constantly needed over days, weeks, and months for the operation of highly sophisticated equipment. That is why measuring devices capable of improving the process of refining "black gold" are so sought after in petroleum cracking and other petrochemical processes. It is only natural therefore that specialists and the press should be paying great attention to the signing in Moscow of documents establishing a joint Soviet-Yugoslav enterprise producing modern measuring

equipment for the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry. The signing was attended by I. Silayev, USSR Council of Ministers deputy chairman, and J. Zemljaric, SFRY Federal Executive Council vice president.

The enterprise will be commissioned in Belgorod and be built by the local "Neftekhimavtomatika" Science and Production Association and the Yugoslav "Energoinvest" Association (Sarajevo). In the opinion of N. Lemayev, USSR minister of the petroleum refining and petrochemical industry, the creation of this modern plant will make it possible to dramatically improve the provision of turbine flowmeters to the sector and enhance the operating efficiency of equipment at its enterprises. In fact the flowmeter is small, but it contains so many advances made in metalworking, the chemical industry, and electronics that the saying "small is beautiful" may rightly be applied to it.

The expression is not new. During the signing of the documents D. Kosovac, chairman of the "Energoinvest" Association business council, drew attention to the fact that specialists who were alumni of Soviet institutes and had defended candidate's and doctoral dissertations had began to take an interest in automation and measuring systems 30 years back. They head research today. Today's collaboration rests on those good traditions and solid, fruitful foundations. I saw prototypes of the joint product in Sarajevo 1 month ago. Production of them will soon begin in our country at the first joint Soviet-Yugoslav enterprise in Belgorod.

West Europe

Ryzhkov Denies Submarine Violations Off Sweden

PM051627 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 23 Dec 87 p 6

[Undated interview with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov by Christian Jutterstrom and Harald Hamrin: "Ryzhkov Dislikes Supreme Commander's Report"]

[Text] Moscow—"If the Swedish Government has any evidence of Soviet submarine violations, then it should present it to us. Then we could discuss the matter."

Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov struck the table with his palm during an exclusive interview with DAGENS NYHETER when he answered last week's more or less open accusations against the Soviet Union of continued violations of Swedish waters.

Ryzhkov, who arrives in Sweden 11 January for an official visit, received DAGENS NYHETER in his government office in the Kremlin. He is clearly disturbed at the renewed suspicions in Sweden.

Several times during the interview, he reiterated past Soviet declarations that the country's submarines have not violated and will not violate Swedish territory.

"I would like to declare most clearly on behalf of the Soviet leadership that we have never been guilty of any violations," he said, adding that the only exception occured in 1981 when a Soviet submarine made an "unintentional intrusion" off Karlskrona.

"The whole world knows about this incident, and we have made our apologies."

In reply to a direct question about whether he can give assurances that no other member of the Warsaw Pact has had underwater vessels in Swedish waters, he said:

"We can assure you of that. Within the Warsaw Pact, we have a joint Supreme Command. I am convinced that nothing like that could happen from the Warsaw Pact countries' side."

Nikolay Ryzhkov also said that special steps have been taken to prevent unintentional violations of Swedish territory.

"We have given our ships orders—and this was not yesterday, but a long time ago—that when passing through neutral waters they must not go near to Sweden's territorial limits. We did this to avoid incidents even in cases when navigational equipment gives incorrect readings."

According to information received by DAGENS NYHETER from another source, this involves a 30km "safety zone" measured from Swedish territorial limits.

During the interview Ryzhkov returned time and time again to what he called an anti-Soviet "campaign" by circles in Sweden that are not interested in improved relations between the two countries.

"I have asked myself the question: Why did this problem surface now—25 days before my visit—and not earlier and not later? It seems to be the case that there are people who do not want relations to be improved. I cannot reach any other conclusion."

Of his forthcoming visit to Sweden, he said:

"It will not be very pleasant for me to visit Sweden 20 days after the publication of your supreme commander's report. But our hands are clean, and we will survive this."

[Question] Have you thought about cancelling the your visit?

"No."

On the contrary, Ryzhkov stressed that relations between the Soviet Union and Sweden are now developing in a positive direction, even though he conceded that there have been "periods of cooling and even of frostiness."

"I must say straight out that these 'atmospheric phenomena' are not our fault. Soviet-Swedish relations do not develop in a vacuum. There was a period when they were influenced negatively by the general worsening of the international situation. Unfortunately they have also been influenced, and are being influenced now, by hostile circles, by opponents of good-neighborly relations with the Soviet Union."

However, in "the last few months" the Soviet Union and Sweden have begun to follow a "correct road" in their reciprocal relations.

"Nowadays Soviet-Swedish relations are in our view characterized by a certain dynamism, stability, and good-neighborliness," he said. "They now also have a more solid foundation in mutual agreements. Many treaties and agreements at government and departmental level have been signed and are 'working' successfully, regulating relations in various fields. During my forthcoming visit in January, it is planned that several more important agreements will be signed."

In light of this Ryzhkov described it as an "absurd" notion that the Soviet Union should work against these developments by violating Swedish territorial integrity "during a period when we are striving for good-neighborly relations."

Who, then, does Ryzhkov think has any interest in violating Swedish waters?

"I do not know," he said, returning yet again to his assertion that there are those in Sweden who are interested in "non-normal [icke-normala] relations" between Sweden and the Soviet Union. "Some people do not like the fact that we are starting to establish good relations between our two countries. I think this is a major factor."

The Soviet prime minister said of Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's statement last Sunday [20 December] that "blood could flow, and it will not be Sweden's fault but that of the violating nation":

"You have your laws which determine your warships' behavior in the face of submarines. You have to be ruled by these laws; that is your business. If, according to your laws, you have to sink (a violating vessel), then you must do so; that is your business.

"It would clearly be better for all if Sweden could finally reach clarity about what is happening in Swedish waters. As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, it has always respected Sweden's independence, its sovereignty, and territorial integrity," Ryzhkov stated.

'Nordic Expert' Deryabin Views Norwegian Issues

PM051513 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 29 Dec 87 p 8

[Interview with USSR Foreign Ministry "expert" Ambassador Yuriy Deryabin by Aasmund Willersrud: "New Tone in Soviet-Norwegian Relations"]

[Text] Moscow, 28 Dec—With party leader Gorbachev's Murmansk initiative and the decision for a visit to Norway by Prime Minister Ryzhkov, Norway rapidly found its way onto the political agenda in Moscow in 1987 to a degree unparalleled for decades.

"We are very satisfied that the traditions of political dialogue dating from the fifties are now being rebuilt," the Soviet Foreign Ministry's most experienced expert on the Nordic area, Ambassador Yuriy Deryabin, said in an interview with AFTENPOSTEN.

He has no doubts that contacts between Moscow and Oslo were at their best during Einar Gerhardsen's time as prime minister, even though dialogue did not achieve the desired level "for well-known reasons." Later there came a period of decline, but the dialogue continued. It was never broken off under changing Norwegian governments, Deryabin pointed out.

Deryabin views Gro Harlem Brundtland's visit to the Soviet Union last year and Prime Minister Ryzhkov's forthcoming visit to Norway as steps forward in the political dialogue.

I reminded Deryabin of the major outstanding bilateral issue—the demarcation line in the Barents Sea. People in Norway noted with a certain disappointment that it was not mentioned in Gorbachev's 1 October initiative.

"The Barents Sea demarcation line is a complicated issue, which will have to be the subject of a compromise. Some important interests on both sides collide here. But as we see it, it is a purely practical issue and not a question of political confrontation. This is my personal view," Deryabin said.

It was impossible to find any hint of possible Soviet movement in the deadlocked talks in our conversation in Deryabin's office at the Foreign Ministry. There was rather a new stress on the fact that we are talking about a time-consuming process in the search for a point of balance between the two sides' interests.

"The question did not surface today or yesterday. It has been there for many years, and the negotiations are continuing. However, you do not need to be an expert to predict that the matter will be raised during Ryzhkov's visit to Oslo," the ambassador said. He considers it unlikely that the Soviet Union will link agreement on a demarcation line to the solution of other military or confidence-building issues in the northern regions. "It would be unwise and wrong to create a new package."

Deryabin reminded me that he is no longer directly involved in the problems surrounding the demarcation line. During the Foreign Ministry reshuffle last year, he was moved from the Scandinavian department to the post of head of the newly created CSCE department. Security and cooperation in Europe are now his field, but as he himself points out, Norway is part of Europe. And 30 years of experience of the Nordic area, 9 of them spent at the Soviet Embassy in Oslo, do not disappear that easily. Deryabin is still reckoned to be the most centrally placed Nordic expert in Moscow.

"The Soviet Union's view of the Norway today is based on a realistic political assessment of the country's place in the NATO alliance," he said. "It goes without saying that our relations would have been more fruitful if this factor had not been present, but we do not expect Norway to leave the alliance in the foreseeable future. This is the reality, and the factors which divide us must not be allowed to come to the fore."

Clearly this approach is reflected in the official press, where the occasionally gross criticism of Norwegian security policy has plainly been toned down in the last couple of years. Now Norwegian base policy is being stressed increasingly often, even though Moscow is still on its guard against any backsliding.

Yuriy Deryabin gave assurances that the Soviet Union does not doubt that the Norwegian Government will continue its traditional base and nuclear policies. But there is concern about developments actually in northern Europe.

"NATO's military activity in the region and the adjoining sea areas could lead to a situation in which the very content of Norway's base policy would be changed, without the Norwegians themselves wanting this," he said.

"This is connected with the military exercises taking place with increasing frequency and with the definition given of the concept of a crisis situation." Deryabin described this as a gray zone, a less clear definition than "wartime."

The old proposal for a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe was an integral part of Gorbachev's Murmansk initiative. Deryabin stressed that the Soviet Union is willing to confirm with concrete steps its offer of a guarantee. "In Vienna we are now proposing that we start negotiations on the withdrawal of missiles with a range of less than 500 km, i.e. weapons systems which Scandinavia thinks are targeted on its territory."

However, the CSCE ambassador strengthened the impression that after INF the Soviet Union is looking toward the sea areas with the greatest concern. "NATO's well-known compensation plans" to replace the land-based cruise missiles with sea-based missiles does not increase security, he said. For this very reason, measures to reduce naval activity in the north were a main element in Gorbachev's Murmansk initiative. The Soviet Union is in favor of a new Stockholm conference as a suitable forum for the discussion of broader confidence-building measures in the naval field, Deryabin said.

He concluded by saying that the Soviet Union is interested in having relations with Norway that are not only characterized by good-neighborliness. This is, as it were, a minimum requirement under the present circumstances. "What we want is an active neighborly relationship in all directions," the CSCE ambassador said.

Envoy Briefs UK Opposition Leader on Summit

LD051809 Moscow TASS in English 1730 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] London January 5 TASS—The Soviet ambassador to Britain, Leonix Zamyatin, visited Neil Kinnock, leader of the Labour Party, on instructions from the Soviet leadership and briefed him in detail on the results of Washington talks between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

During the meeting Kinnock described the Soviet-U.S. talks and the INF (intermediate-range nuclear force) Treaty as a major step towards real nuclear disarmament. He said the Labour Party saw Europe's future as a continent free from nuclear weapons.

He expressed himself in favor of continuing Soviet-American contacts to work out further accords for reducing nuclear and other kinds of weapons.

Netherlands Minister on Force Cuts, Soviet Ties

PM051401 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 88 Second Edition p 4

[Interview with Netherlands Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek by own correspondent Yu. Kharlanov: "Dialogue Needed"; in The Hague—date not given]

[Text] The Hague, January—[Kharlanov] Mr Minister, how do you assess the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles concluded in Washington? What is its significance for the Netherlands?

[Broek] The Netherlands Government warmly welcomes and fully supports the conclusion of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. It is a historic event enhancing the level of security in Europe. For the first time in the history of arms control talks, an entire class of U.S. and Soviet nuclear arms will be eliminated. The monitoring provisions contained in the treaty are unprecedented in scale. The need for regular on-site inspections is recognized with a view to carrying out monitoring, and corresponding accords have been reached in this regard. The treaty has also demonstrated

for the first time that in those spheres where inequality exists, only asymmetrical reductions can lead to stable, secure equilibrium at the lowest possible level.

Therefore, hope arises that the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles will give a boost to the other arms control talks and promote a general improvement in East-West relations.

[Kharlanov] What is your position in regard to reducing arsenals of strategic offensive arms and tactical nuclear weapons in Europe? And what is your position in regard to banning chemical weapons and achieving equilibrium in NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional arms at the lowest possible level?

[Broek] The Netherlands Government hopes that, following the treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles, further progress will be made in the arms control sphere. We are especially satisfied with the fact that during their last meeting, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev advanced along the path toward an agreement on a 50% reduction in the two countries' strategic arsenals, which opens up the prospect of concluding a treaty on these arms in the new year. We also attach great significance to reaching an agreement on prohibiting chemical weapons, to establishing stable equilibrium at a low level in the sphere of conventional arms, and to other measures leading to greater confidence and security.

In our opinion, the potential for arms control in regard to short-range nuclear weapons must be viewed along with establishing stable equilibrium in the sphere of conventional weapons and with the prohibition of chemical weapons. Of course, as everyone recognizes, arms control agreements must be subject to effective monitoring. The Netherlands Government is convinced that, however important arms control measures may be, they are a constituent part of the broader dialogue needed to impart a more constructive form to East-West relations. One point in the Helsinki accords that is dearest to our hearts is respect for human rights, for basic freedoms such as freedom of opinion and religious conviction, and also for contacts among people in East and West. These are the basic elements for creating trust among nations and achieving genuine detente, as clearly stated in the Helsinki Final Act.

An improved climate in East-West relations, which we desire, can only promote the development of bilateral relations between the Netherlands and the USSR. The Netherlands Government firmly advocates our improved relations. The trip which the Netherlands prime minister and I myself made to Moscow in November 1986 gave a positive boost to the development of these ties. I recall with pleasure the profoundly substantial discussions that we had then with General Secretary Gorbachev, head of government Ryzhkov, Minister Shevardnadze, and government Deputy Chairman Kamentsev, during which each side had every opportunity to expound its viewpoint in a cordial and constructive atmosphere. We will be pleased to welcome our Moscow guests during their return visit to the Netherlands.

We are following with great interest the policy of glasnost and restructuring which the Soviet Union is developing, and we voice the hope that it will open up new potential for improving relations between countries in East and West. The Soviet Union's measures to decentralize foreign trade, which are a part of the integral process of economic reforms, are bound to stimulate direct contacts between Dutch and Soviet enterprises—which will lead to further development of our trade ties.

We are also following attentively the intensification of cultural ties between the Netherlands and the Soviet Union within the framework of our bilateral cultural agreements which, together with others, are leading to a broader exchange of students, university teachers, artistes, and so forth. In this connection, I would also like to mention the exhibitions devoted to the history of relations between our two countries, which is planned to be held in Amsterdam and Moscow.

FRG's Strauss Interviewed on Soviet Ties

PM091121 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with Franz-Josef Strauss, prime minister of Bavaria and chairman of the FRG Christian Social Union, by own correspondent V. Lysenko: "I Can Say 'Yes' to Almost All Questions"; date and place not given]

[Text] Franz-Josef Strauss, prime minister of the West German Land of Bavaria and chairman of the Christian Social Union, was in Moscow 29 through 31 December 1987 at the invitation of the USSR Council of Ministers State Foreign Economic Commission. Before leaving the Soviet Union, he gave an interview to IZVESTIYA correspondent V. Lysenko.

[Lysenko] How do you rate the prospects for developing USSR-FRG relations in light of the talks in Moscow?

[Strauss] You know that people all over the world, perhaps even in your country, are asking what Gorbachev's intentions are and what he is striving to attain. This question is surrounded by considerable misunderstanding, uncertainty, and sometimes even confusion. This is inevitable when someone breaks with tradition and changes existing structures. If you are asking me about the prospects, I would undoubtedly assess them as positive. Without raising excessive expectations—I have always warned against this in the West—restructuring and glasnost are typically tailored to fit modern Soviet society and its future needs. But we should not expect the Soviet leadership to abandon its system, which has been built up and strengthened over 70 years. The rivalry between our system and yours is obvious. If your system changes its style—and Gorbachev is taking immense pains to ensure that it does, including in terms of the

state of the economy—for us this will be a source of hope rather than criticism. I rate this as positive, especially after Gorbachev's impressive words.

[Lysenko] What concrete contribution to the development of Soviet-West German relations could be made by the Land of Bavaria, in your opinion?

[Strauss] Bavaria is not the center of the world. Bavaria is not the entire FRG, but there is no FRG without Bavaria. Someone who knows Bavaria does not yet know the whole FRG, but anyone who does not know Bavaria does not know the FRG. We know that our major partner, the Soviet Union, cannot differentiate its economic policy with respect to individual FRG laender. There can be no Soviet-Bavarian or Soviet-Lower Saxon ties. But Bavaria is an important partner, particularly in the sphere of high technology and the most modern equipment.

In regard to the process of reducing military equipment currently taking place in the world, we believe it useful to exchange scientists and scientific research if it will help—and I would add the proviso that we are not philanthropists—to eliminate the gap between good scientific research and finished products that find a demand on the world market. You have outstanding research in the area of the fundamental sciences. But the list of your goods available in the market is extremely inadequate, both in size and in quality. Oil and gas deliveries make up 85% of your exports. We naturally think of the giant Soviet market, and we are anxious to even out the structure of Soviet trade turnover. Our major postwar successes have come about not thanks to scientists but thanks to a skilled workforce, engineers, and craftsmen. We only need ideas and inventions that can be turned into marketable products. We could cooperate in this sphere.

[Lysenko] Do you agree with the concept of completely eliminating nuclear and chemical weapons in Europe and with reducing NATO and Warsaw Pact conventional arms to a level that ensures reliable defense for both sides and rules out the possibility of attack?

[Strauss] I can answer almost all your questions with a brief "yes." We advocate the complete destruction of chemical weapons, reductions in conventional arms, and a lower level of military potentials which would rule out the intention and possibility of conducting offensive operations and ensure defense. I do not think all types of nuclear weapons can be eliminated at the current level of discussions. This is a dream and, maybe, a goal for the future. We are still unable to guarantee European security without nuclear components, even if they have been limited. If a political settlement were reached in which thinking in military terms ceased to exist altogether—as, for instance, among our friends—then I could answer your question with an unambiguous "yes."

PCF Presidential Contender Lajoinie Interviewed

PM050913 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Dec 87 Second Edition p 6

["Our Interview" with Andre Lajoinie, member of the PCF Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee, by own correspondent V. Bolshakov in Paris: "'You Have My Vote, Andre...'"; date not given; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] French Communists have nominated Andre Lajoinie, member of the French Communist Party [PCF] Politburo and secretary of the PCF Central Committee, as their candidate for the 1988 presidential election. His election campaign was launched during the annual L'HUMANITE festival in September this year. PRAVDA's own correspondent in Paris met with A. Lajoinie and asked him to answer a number of questions. [passage omitted]

Question: During the election campaign, you have made frequent use of the Russian word "perestroyka" when speaking of the USSR. Everything indicates that your voters are also interested in the events taking place in our country. How, in your opinion, are Frenchmen's attitudes toward our country changing? How is restructuring in general affecting the perception of communist ideas? How do French Communists themselves perceive restructuring?

Answer: I recently visited your country again and met with M.S. Gorbachev. Thus I have firsthand information on restructuring and glasnost. Many Frenchmen, like myself, have a most favorable impression of the changes taking place in your country, despite the unflagging anticommunism and anti-Sovietism in the French press.

As far as we French Communists are concerned, we have always believed, even when we have criticized you, that socialism is capable of implementing any necessary changes and overcoming the phenomena of stagnation. Together with the whole world, we have welcomed with great sympathy the changes in your domestic policy, and especially your foreign policy and the USSR's peace initiatives. Even though there is no direct or purely mechanical link between restructuring in the USSR and the growth of the influence of communist ideas or of the PCF in France, restructuring is nonetheless having a favorable effect. We do sense this, as PCF Secretary General G. Marchais said in his speech at the celebration of October's 70th anniversary in Moscow.

Question: How are you received at local level? How does the "free press" cover your election campaign?

Answer: The reception is cordial. There has not been a single instance of an election rally being a failure. People come in the thousands, just as they did during the campaign conducted by G. Marchais in 1981. This shows the stable influence exerted by the PCF. As for the

mass media, they are, of course, rather short on objectivity. The "majors" in France are full of chronic anti-Sovietism and anticommunism. I come across this every time I am invited to speak on television. They have no desire to hear me talk when I try to speak about the situation in France but shower me with questions with an obvious anti-Soviet bias. They try to ridicule the PCF's stance and the USSR's policy and to distort them in every way. This is just another phenomenon of the struggle between classes.

Question: How is the PCF's slogan for a "people's movement" working in the course of your election campaign?

Answer: We are relying on the broadest strata of the working people, on all who suffer most from exploitation and are victims of capitalism. We are primarily oriented toward young people because the future belongs to them. When we speak about a people's movement, we have in mind the rallying of these strata of the population for joint actions. The political situation in France today is such that the Socialist Party [PSF] leaders are to all intents and purposes aligning their policies with the right wing, advocating support for "economic austerity," the arms race, and so on. They even speak openly about the possibility of cooperation with the right wing during the current election campaign.

What is the way out of this situation? We are addressing not the PSF leaders but those who want a different policy, calling on them to vote for the Communists. Ultimately, it will be the participation of the broad masses that will determine the new disposition of forces and implementation of changes in our society. We are asking the broadest masses to support our policy of change. Because, as Marx taught, the masses are the makers of history.

Question: Are you also hoping for support from rank-and-file Socialists?

Answer: We do not rule this out. We are addressing those in the PSF who, as in the PCF, are heirs of the ideas of Jean Jaures. We have much in common with them.

We sing the "Internationale" and the "Marseillaise" in the same breath. These two French songs are dear to us. We believe ourselves to be their true heirs because they are primarily revolutionary anthems.

Question: How do you intend to capture the Elysee Palace (the presidential residence)? What percentage of the vote do you expect to gain? If you fail, who will you vote for in the second round? The Socialists?

Answer: We are aware of the real disposition of forces and do not set ourselves specific goals like capturing the Elysee Palace. The main task is to consolidate the Communist Party's position and to mobilize broad strata of the population in support of its policy of real rather than imaginary changes.

As a rule, various forecasts and opinion polls understate our real potential. This is just one method of manipulating public awareness. We gained 10% of the vote in the 1986 general election. This increased by 4% to 5% in subsequent by-elections.

Presidential elections are usually unfavorable for the PCF because they are elections in which the main struggle is waged between candidates from two parties, in this case between the Socialists and the right-wing candidate. As regards the second round, our Central Committee will decide who will get our vote following consultations with all federation committees. They will be guided by a simple principle when making their choice: the opportunity to implement our proposals and to achieve a broad people's movement. [passage omitted]

Dobrynin Receives Italian Communist Leader

LD051522 Moscow TASS in English 1519 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 5 (TASS)—A meeting took place at the CPSU Central Committee today between Anatoliy Dobrynin, a secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Giorgio Napolitano, a leading member of the Italian Communist Party who chairs the international affairs commission of its Central Committee.

They exchanged opinions on key international problems in the light of the recent visit to the United States by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and his talks with U.S. President Ronald Reagan.

Briefs

Soviet-Finnish Seminar Held

Murmansk January 5 TASS—A Soviet-Finnish seminar on problems connected with the consolidation of security, mutually advantageous economic and cultural cooperation of the Arctic countries opened here today. It is being attended by deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, representatives of the public of the Murmansk region and a large group of members of Finnish parliament. The seminar is devoting special attention to the peace proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev during his stay in Murmansk last autumn. They envisage not only the bringing down of the level of military confrontation in the north of Europe, but also the consolidation of trust in relations among nations and government of the Arctic countries, as well as a further development and strengthening of their economic ties. [Text] [*Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 5 Jan 87 LD*]

Latin America & Caribbean

Leadership Greets Cuba on National Day

PM050945 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated USSR leadership bodies' greetings message to Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee and President of the Cuban Council of State and Council of Ministers]

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Cuban Councils of State and Ministers

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro!

We send you, Cuban Communists, and the entire fraternal people of socialist Cuba cordial greetings and best wishes on the republic's national holiday—Liberation Day.

The period since the victorious 1 January 1959 has vividly highlighted the importance of that date for the Cuban people's destiny. Your Republic's successes in resolving fundamental social problems, developing education and health care, and fostering high political awareness among the masses based on feelings of patriotism, dignity, revolutionary enthusiasm, and adherence to socialist ideals are indisputable. Soviet people follow with comradely interest the processes taking place in Cuba aimed at making more effective use of socialism's rich potential.

Socialist Cuba rightly enjoys high prestige in the world arena. Its consistent policy aimed at strengthening socialist positions, eliminating the nuclear threat, achieving real disarmament, and helping peoples in the liberated states is supported by all progressive forces. Cuba's efforts to establish a new world economic order, to ensure a just resolution of the developing countries' foreign debt problem, and to strengthen the nonaligned movement are well-known and appreciated in the world.

In the years since the revolution, truly fraternal relations based on a community of aims and ideals have emerged between the Soviet and Cuban peoples. The results of the recent Moscow meeting between the two parties' leaders were evidence of the profound mutual understanding and unity of views between the CPSU and the PCC. The level of Soviet-Cuban cooperation that has now been attained in the political, economic, and ideological spheres makes it possible to set new tasks in the interests of improving the effectiveness of this cooperation and seeking new forms of collaboration for the good of the two countries' peoples.

In celebrating with you the 29th anniversary of the victory of the Cuban revolution, we wish the Communists and all the people of Cuba successes in socialist building and in carrying out the resolutions of the Third PCC Congress, happiness, and prosperity in the new year of 1988.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Cuban Revolutionary 'Successes' Hailed

PM051357 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 1 Jan 88 p 3

[Sergey Kutikov report: "Confident Tread. One January Is Cuba's National Holiday—Liberation Day"]

[Excerpts] Havana-Moscow—Today the Cuban people celebrate a portentous date—the 29th anniversary of the overthrow of the hated pro-American dictatorship and the establishment of people's power in the country. The period of almost 3 decades since the insurgent forces entered Havana with Fidel Castro at their head has been an epoch of heroic achievements for Cubans.

Under the difficult conditions of a constant military threat and economic aggression, the Cuban people have been building the socioeconomic base of the new society. Cuba is the first country in Latin America to post an impressive increase in GNP, approximately 4.8% per year, for more than 25 years now. [passage omitted]

The streets of Havana lack that outward gloss—expensive store windows and numerous advertising lights—that can be seen in the capitals of certain Latin American states. This is often remarked upon by tourists from capitalist states, who forget that the goods in such stores are unattainable by the bulk of the population in those countries. However, foreign guests' first impression is entirely forgotten after they visit the bright and clean kindergartens and schools, or one of the capital's health centers with its highly skilled specialists and state-of-the-art equipment, where patients do not have to pay for treatment. The fact that the country has totally eliminated illiteracy and that there is one physician with higher education for every 400 inhabitants (a ratio not to be found in many developed states) forces visitors to Cuba to take a new look at the realities. The republic is not after immediate successes but focuses on long-term programs that guarantee stable economic growth and improve the population's prosperity. [passage omitted]

The successes of the Cuban Revolution have been achieved thanks to the people's persistent work and as a result of the country's participation in long-term economic integration with the socialist community states. Cubans talk with gratitude about the Soviet Union's selfless assistance.

But by no means everything has yet been done: That is stated by the Cubans themselves, who have recently set their sights on stepping up demandingness and achieving higher production indicators. Worker and peasant collectives are seeking new forms of work, strengthening discipline, taking care to save raw and other materials, actively participating in resolving administrative and cadre questions, and rectifying mistakes that were made. Their revolutionary enthusiasm inspires confidence that the republic will tread ever more firmly with every passing year.

U.S. 'Chief Obstacle' to Central American Peace

LD061201 Moscow TASS in English 1147 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Moscow January 6 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

Another meeting of the presidents of five Central American states, slated for January 15, can give a fresh impetus to the implementation of the Guatemala agreements, according to diplomatic circles in Moscow.

The accords are designed to secure peaceful settlement in central America and promote there a climate of confidence, goodneighbourhood and cooperation.

The chief obstacle in that path is the stance of the U.S. Administration which, even though it welcomed the Guatemala process, is seeking to thwart it by using any means.

Here are some facts. In violation of the agreement reached by the five central American presidents, the United States is financing Nicaraguan contra rebels.

Washington is trying to hinder the national dialogue in Nicaragua by imposing its view on right-wing opposition parties.

Acting on instructions of the U.S. Administration, contra leaders unilaterally suspended talks with the Sandinist Government that were conducted through Cardinal Miguel Obando Y Bravo.

Successful implementation of the Guatemala accords is being hindered by the positions of Honduras and El Salvador which provide their territories for American mercenaries engaged in fighting against Nicaragua.

Besides, the contras are using American military bases in Honduras.

According to the Honduran newspaper LA TRIBUNA, the contras are hastily hiding their traces at the air force base of Aguacate by relocating hardware in remote parts of the country on the eve of the arrival of the international commission for checking and verification of compliance with the Guatemala agreements.

Decisions of the Guatemala conference provide for their compliance by all states in the region. Non-observance of this provision and the continuation of obstructionist policies by the U.S. Administration might bring the process of peace settlement in Central America into a blind-alley.

Ortega Says U.S. Blocking Regional Peace Efforts

LD061025 Moscow TASS in English 0953 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 6 TASS—Since the signing of the Guatemala Accords on ways to achieve a peaceful settlement in Central America, the U.S. Administration has been trying to foil the peace efforts of the region's people and governments, President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua said today.

After meeting members of the international commission for checking and verification, he told newsmen that, on the one hand, there existed a desire of the region's nations to fulfil the peace agreements, while on the other hand, there was a U.S. striving to block their implementation.

"Washington ignores world public opinion, breaches elementary standards of international law and continues criminal policies with regard to Nicaragua," he went on to say.

The latest crimes against Nicaraguan mining townships were committed by contra rebels following approval of these plans by the U.S. Department of State.

Despite the U.S. attempts to thwart the process of compliance with the Guatemala accords, Ortega said, the efforts by the Central American peoples to resolve the conflict by peaceful means were gaining momentum.

Ortega Views Relations With Soviet Union

LD052112 Moscow TASS in English 1949 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 5 TASS—President of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega described the signing of the Treaty between the USSR and the USA on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles as the most important political event of the past year. In an interview to the newspaper "BARRICADA" he noted that the Soviet-American summit in Washington had paved the road for the strengthening of universal security.

The conclusion of such an important document opens prospects for the further easing of tension and subsequent elimination of nuclear weapons. This is largely a merit of General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev who exerted the maximum of efforts to achieve this lofty aim and rightly became the most popular leader. The dynamics of internal life and

foreign policy steps of the USSR greatly impress the world in the same way is it was shaken by the Great October Socialist Revolution, Daniel Ortega said.

The Nicaraguan leader said that during his recent meeting in Moscow with the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev confirmed the Soviet Union's support for Nicaragua's efforts to achieve peace and expressed invariable solidarity of the Soviet people with the Nicaraguan people.

The Nicaraguan leader rejected allegations of U.S. propaganda that the Soviet Union, allegedly, "moves away" from Nicaragua. He said international imperialism continues juggling with deliberately false facts to distort the essence of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations.

As is known, assertions are made in the U.S. circles that during the conversations in Washington, the Soviet side, allegedly stated the Soviet Union's readiness "to keep from military aid to the Sandinist Government altogether". Such reports contradict reality. During the conversations with the U.S. President the Soviet side advanced more than once the idea that the USSR and the USA could agree on a basis of reciprocity to discuss the possibilities of practical assistance to the process of peaceful settlement in Central America. The steps taken by the Contadora Group and the participating countries in the Guatemalan agreements were meant.

Specifically, the Soviet side emphasized that such a joint arrangement could include, for instance, mutual obligations of the Soviet Union and the United States to limit their arms deliveries to the countries of Central America. Thus this idea, firstly, applies to the entire Central American region, and, secondly, envisages mutual obligations of the USSR and the USA to refrain from the supplies of armaments to the region.

The U.S. Administration has been waging an undeclared war against Nicaragua for eight years now in an effort to impose a certain socio-political and economic system on Nicaragua, Daniel Ortega emphasized. The U.S. Congress recently endorsed the appropriation of new funds for the contras which attests to Washington's inventions to bank on the continuation of the aggression in the future.

Nicaraguan Government 'Frustrated' CIA Plans

LD052228 Moscow TASS in English 2159 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] Managua January 5 TASS—Nicaragua's security bodies frustrated the plans of the CIA to create an internal counter revolutionary front in Nicaragua, Nicaragua's Deputy Minister of the Interior Rene Rivas said at a press conference here. He said that in the past year Nicaraguan security bodies registered some 280 secret meetings of CIA officials, working under the cover of the U.S. Embassy, with representatives of the right-wing opposition. During those contacts, the circles that are in opposition to the Sandinist Government were set the tasks of collecting intelligence information of military and political nature, of intensifying the subversive political activity and staging acts of terrorism against leaders of the Sandinist National Liberation Front. Rivas emphasized that special importance had been attached to masterminding propaganda campaigns aimed at accusing the Republic's government of non-observance of the Guatemalan Accords.

Political & Social

Psychiatric 'Errors, Malpractices' Redressed

PM061115 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Decision Adopted on Conditions and Procedures for Administering Psychiatric Assistance"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a statute on conditions and procedures for administering psychiatric assistance.

In accordance with the Fundamentals of USSR and Union Republic Legislation on Health Care and other USSR legislative acts, the Statute defines the conditions and procedures for administering specialized medical assistance to people suffering from mental disorders and for protecting their rights and lawful interests, including medical confidentiality as well as measures to protect society from the dangerous behavior of mentally sick patients. The statute provides for legal guarantees against possible errors and malpractices in administering psychiatric assistance to the population. In particular, it lays down rules for the initial examination of the patient, the administration of outpatient and inpatient psychiatric assistance, and emergency hospitalization of mental patients posing a danger to themselves or to others.

It defines the rights and duties of health authorities' chief psychiatrists, including their duty to exercise control over the correct application of medical treatment procedures to mental patients.

Local soviet ispolkoms are instructed to concern themselves with mental patients, to defend their rights and lawful interests, and to adopt measures to render social assistance to these people.

It is laid down that compulsory treatment of mental patients who have committed dangerous acts covered by the criminal code should take place at health authority psychiatric hospitals.

The USSR Ministry of Health is instructed to elaborate legislative instruments regulating the initial examination, the administration of outpatient and inpatient assistance, and the emergency hospitalization of mental patients.

Provision is made for citizens receiving psychiatric assistance or their relatives and legal representatives to protest in court against the decisions of chief psychiatrists and psychiatric commissions; they are guaranteed the legal assistance of a lawyer with a view to ensuring their rights.

It is established that supervision of the observance of legality in the administration of psychiatric assistance by health care establishments is to be carried out by the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

The Statute on Conditions and Procedures in Administering Psychiatric Assistance is published in the VEDOMOSTI VERKHOVNOGO SOVETA SSR.

The RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has introduced amendments to the RSFSR Criminal Code and the Code of Penal Procedure which specify the forced medical treatment procedures applicable to mental patients who have committed socially dangerous offenses and define criminal liability for illegally committing people known to be healthy to psychiatric hospitals.

Writer Argues Against 'Leaderism,' Privilege

PM051601 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Jan 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Boris Vasilyev article: "I Envy My Grandchildren..."—first paragraph is editorial introduction; words in boldface as published]

[Text] Whatever the circumstances and the times, Boris Vasilyev, author of the books "The Dawns Here Are Quiet," "Do not Shoot White Swans," "The War Was Tomorrow," and others, has consistently urged us to show moral fortitude, prompted us to think, and inspired us with hope. Today, as ever, he invites us to consider a matter which cannot fail to concern us....

The new year is a milestone: You always look forward to the things to come after it and invariably recall the most important things which have gone before. Even the longest path begins with the first step, and it gives me above all a tremendous sense of relief to think that this step has been taken and that the two great powers have found a real way out of the weapons-filled deadlock. I have an unswerving belief in good beginnings, but I also see clearly how necessary it is today not to forget your past. I realize that my thoughts are not quite New Year thoughts, but it is necessary to have the courage to look back so as not to make mistakes.

Some 5 or 6 years ago, when banquets were all the rage, I often heard, half as a toast, half with a sigh, the words: "Pity the children." This was interpreted silently and simply in these terms: We have lived our lives but what will befall you, our sons, is unclear, and for that reason we are anxious. Our country faced the quite real threat not only of economic disaster but also of the conflagration of World War III.

We are used to dividing time into segments, or—for the sake of euphony—into eras: the Stalin Era; the Khrushchev Era; the Brezhnev Era, coyly termed the "era of stagnation." While haughtily asserting that we have built the most democratic society in the world we are employing without the least hesitation what is essentially not the

chronology of history. Its artificiality has become particularly clear in our time—a time which has not yet been given a name but which nevertheless exists in the realities of restructuring and glasnost.

Revolutions bestow freedom not only on society but on individuals. And through the blood and cries of the civil war the overwhelming majority of our fellow-countrymen received that freedom, as a perceived necessity.

A perceived necessity—perceived by every citizen!—is for that citizen and for society as a whole a point of departure. History begins anew while the past sinks into oblivion, and there is nothing wrong with that. It is simply that the new point of departure suggests a new scale of values and consciously presumes the past to be inferior to the axis of the abscissa: The Great French Revolution, realizing this, determinedly introduced the New Calendar. We, too, added to the 1918 calendar all the days lost in the past (that is why we quite illogically celebrate the October Revolution in November). The cheerful and ruthless new citizens of the New Era drew the dividing line and Russia's entire past was left behind that line. No one wanted to remember that the present was more active than the past; incomparably more active and more interesting.

And everything around—Soviet Power and the Bolshevik Party, the Red Army and the shoots of the new Soviet cooperative system, the shortest working week in the world (the "5-day week"!), the absence of censorship and passports, freedom to travel abroad, the right of every citizen to agree with decisions of the party and the government, to disagree, or simply to "sympathize" with them (such a concept existed, it really did!)—everything had been gained, it was ours, and belonged to each individual. This real sense of personal participation in the state's destiny also fired the frenzied enthusiasm of the first 5-year plans, covering with crimson calico the black chasms of the camps.

Lenin's legacy was not only the creation of the party and the state. It was handed down to each of us and our fathers envied their children, they did not pity them. Lenin succeeded in making the population of the new Russia truly new citizens of their fatherland.

The things which we encountered subsequently and which were linked with Stalin's personality, to our great misfortune, were not merely facts of our history but also a phenomenon of it. An historical phenomenon is not resolved by the departure of the one who inspires it: Its features continue to exist in modern society, among those of us alive today. And that, in its turn, is a blow against the future. The cult of the personality is terrible not only because it blindly destroys the best people but also because it extinguishes the flame in people's hearts, fills them with fear, and forces them to shut themselves away in their own apartments. How simple life would be if only the shadow of the Leader [Vozhd] did not also fall on the affairs of our times, too....

What did Khrushchev inherit from Stalin? Apart from the regrettable camps and the lawlessness, there were so many ailments, crises, and dislocations in our society that merely to list them would require a vast amount of time and paper. But there is one phenomenon, very serious in its consequences, which I should particularly like to recall: N.S. Khrushchev inherited a structure which I find it hard to describe other than by the word "leaderism" ("vozhdizm"). I lived through that era, I knew the "leaders" by sight, I carried their pictures in demonstrations. The young find it hard to understand that apart from the Great Leader I. Stalin there were also "leaders" of the second order, so to speak—leaders of various "special interests" who had to be mentioned in everyday practice, in speeches, in articles, and in slogans. For example, Voroshilov was leader of the Red Army, Mikoyan was the leader of light industry, Kaganovich was the leader of transport. These were not the leaders of the working class whom Lenin required to be cultivated; this was a special title granting the recipient the right to account to Stalin himself alone. It placed them in a particularly privileged position within the party and the country, exempted them from criticism, made their decisions absolute, and freed them from error once and for all. Party democracy was replaced by an unconditional dual worship of leaders in the narrow sense and the leader of all the peoples.

Unfortunately, N.S. Khrushchev did not escape the aforementioned ailment. That is understandable: He was brought up in the atmosphere of "leaderism," breathed its air, and did not find within himself the ability to resist the pernicious influence of his own sense of being chosen and of absolute infallibility. It was that factor which prevented him from seeing many of his good intentions through to the end. Strange as it may seem, Khrushchev, who did so much to debunk the personality cult and to save not only the good names but also the lives of very many of our blameless fellow countrymen who had been repressed, also combined personal integrity and a sincere desire to lance the wounds of the somber past as quickly as possible with a clearly "leaderist" ["vozhdistskiy"] overestimation of his own strengths and potential. I am sure that a competent researcher will investigate this phenomenon. I am merely stating it so as to get right to the heart of the sweet-scented atmosphere of total conformism.

It is a surprising fact that until recently you would not have found the word "conformism" (which may be translated as adaptability, pandering, acting "in compliance") in our dictionaries—this is part of the system of "writing one thing and thinking another," the unwillingness (sometimes even the fear) to name a phenomenon which has been officially decreed not to exist in our country. Thus, there was no drug addiction, no alcoholism, no prostitution, nor was there any mass conformism. In Saltykov-Shchedrin's words, we were trying to "close down America," forgetting that "such a thing is not in our power."

If Khrushchev saw his party, civic, and human duty in eliminating as quickly as possible the most inhuman forms of the Stalinist period, his successor stopped tackling that problem. Furthermore, gradually, little by little Stalin was cautiously rehabilitated; but this period is important to me because of another factor. As it grows, this "other factor" still feeds the overt and covert enemies of the policy of restructuring and the glasnost which supports that restructuring with the energy to slow down that process.

I anticipate an objection here: What about our successes? The space flights, the construction of the Baykal-Amur Railroad [BAM], and so on, and so forth. Yes, society cannot stand still, but it can mark time. Even if we replace the flexible formulas of the past with simpler ones, we still cannot complete the construction of the BAM, which long ago passed all the deadlines... But even that is not the most important thing. Ultimately any technical backwardness can be overcome: It can always be seen. But it is far more serious when dealing with what is inside a man, what is hidden behind his speeches, promises, criticism and self-criticism, smiles, and enthusiasm. In dialectical terms this affects restructuring itself and even more so glasnost.

In fact it is worth paying attention to, among other things, the transformation of the "leaders" under Brezhnev: They lost their special interests but gained territory. The all-union leaders of transport, trade, and industry, endowed with superrights, disappeared to be replaced by leaders of oblasts and republics endowed not only with superrights but also with total power—let us recall here Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Moldavia, Krasnodar Kray, and so on, and so forth. Local rules, systems of relations, and hierarchical laws flourished in those "domains." While unreservedly praising a leader susceptible to flattery, such chiefs did as they pleased and hid behind inflated figures, inflated plan targets, and inflated achievements. Autocracy, obsequiousness, bribery and overt extortion, law-breaking, clannishness and nepotism, and corruption and embezzlement revived and flourished. All this together ultimately could not fail to lead to a sharp distortion of moral principles, by drawing a distinction between those who could do everything and have everything and those who could only work and only have what they were given. The Soviet concept of being master of one's own country was effectively split into two and transformed into the "master" and the multitude of those who no longer felt themselves to be masters. They began pilfering whatever they could from their enterprises because they no longer felt that those enterprises were their own: They took to drink because they lost their sense of responsibility; they did everything they could to appear to be working while avoiding work itself.

Look at how much the notorious "table of ranks" cost us and will go on costing us! It was precisely in the "era of stagnation" that this distortion appeared particularly forcefully. Take, for example, the "spectacle" of our funerals: A family tragedy became a pretext for social pomp. Do you know that in terms of orders and medals, prizes and titles we lead the whole world? As of 1 November 1984 we had 20 orders of which, please count, 7 have 3 classes and 3 have 2; add to that number 64 medals and 16 honorary titles of all-union significance alone. If you add to that the multitude of republic titles, laureates of all kinds and departmental insignia and awards, then the number of distinctions dividing Soviet people is unparalleled in the world. We have already begun thinking far more often about division rather than unification, striving with might and main to win titles and awards—if you are lucky they will get you a place at the table and the children will not be forgotten. Such are the comparisons that spring to mind, however bitter they may be.

Yet we began by flatly rejecting the old thinking, proudly renouncing all orders and other marks of distinction. Everything can be justified, of course, but we naturally cherished the equality of people at one time...

I shall venture to recall the prophetic words of L. Tolstoy: "To say that social progress produces morality is the same as saying that building ovens produces heat." It is senseless to hope that the most advanced social system will of its own accord produce the most advanced morality. We have tested by our own experience the great Russian sage's warning of almost a century ago. Morality needs to be renewed, which is why I talk so persistently about the spiritual legacy. Since the active citizen has been deliberately weeded out and the subsequent generation equally deliberately corrupted, the tasks of the present day appear particularly serious. Civilization is outstripping spiritual development and the intellectual coefficient reaches its maximum after about 25 years, after which it begins to decline and aesthetic perception immediately declines sharply—which is why stereotyped thinking has become a refuge for the soul. It is natural that stereotypes are most resistant to restructuring of any kind. In addition, one should also bear in mind that the institution of the moral example was practically eliminated 50 years ago. The war restored many moral values to us, but after two decades the large-scale introduction of lies and hypocrisy in the practice of education and propaganda again threatened to confuse all our ideas of good and evil.

We ran the risk of losing our direct moral influence on the young: Doubting the official wellwishers, they dispersed into informal groups where they anguished over their own doubts and thus became insolent and tried to shock. But so often these informal people look into our souls and with the naivety of the young rabbit they repeat the fatal request: "Little uncle king, we want some cauliflower..." And the "little uncle kings" take offense because their children sing the wrong tune, because they do not admire the Acropolis but prefer to go shopping. Yet this, too, is one of the most insidious stereotypes—the stereotype of one's own infallibility. Is it not better simply to give the young a good education and to set

them a good example? Perhaps we have had enough sermons about what to listen to, what to sing, and what to wear? What times are we living in today, friends?

We live an astonishingly active life: The dialectical spiral of our spiritual development coincided with Lenin's time of debates and quests. It is true that we do not know how to debate and habitually resort to raised voices, and we perceive glasnost as an instruction to talk about troubles or as a legal and very modern way of settling scores with an unsuitable worker. As for democracy... There was no democracy in prerevolutionary Russia, we have little experience of it, and for that reason we perceive it as a kind of authorization. Suddenly the order was given that from a certain date there were things that were **possible**. But it should be perceived first and foremost as a **prohibition**. It is prohibited to break the law, violate the Constitution, sack a worker at the chief's request, raise prices unjustifiably, to ban, to detain, and "not to release." And if that happens you have to create a fuss in the newspapers, to sound all the bells: Democracy always means the observance of the law. We in our simplicity believe that this is just an opportunity to say or write whatever comes into our head...

Try as I may, I cannot understand what is going on. Take the emergence of the "Pamyat" society. As for the form, any isolation on the basis of nationality is a demarcation in terms of the fundamental principle of the Soviet people: its unity and equality of rights. As for the content... But I do not perceive any content because the idealization of the past and the frenzied ideas of national enmity cannot constitute a content.

I am not aware of a single positive "Pamyat" idea, but I have read more than my share of negative comments. Russia's spiritual potential at the turn of the century was fabulously great—which also ensured its victory in the Great Revolution. Let us note this fact with pride and direct our efforts toward rectifying the serious mistakes, toward increasing prosperity, and—most important of all!—toward the struggle for peace, because there is no alternative. The basis of that struggle is the recognition of the equal rights of peoples, and friendship and cooperation among them. "Pamyat" does not agree? I would refer them to Dostoyevskiy, whose name is so fashionable now: "Very well, do not believe, but at least think."

We should do everything to develop "moral hygiene," to use Herzen's words, particularly among the young, that is, the resolute rejection of immoral actions and immoral theories, racial hatred and selectivity, and the propaganda of hatred and war. We must foster the need to do good, work passionately, be friends, know how to respect other people's opinion, and struggle for our own ideals. In other words, we must educate as quickly as possible an active citizen of the Land of the Soviets who has shed his last vestiges of servility and who is the direct heir of the people raised by Lenin.

Let us recall L.N. Tolstoy once again. He distinguished three types of morality:

The morality which serves "my" benefit. That is the morality of savagery.

The morality which serves the circle to which I belong. That is the morality of barbarism.

The morality which serves all mankind. That is general human morality.

We are now living under the third kind of morality—general human morality.

I sincerely envy my grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

Dolgikh Tours Kemerovo, Addresses Plenum

PM050830 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent B. Glotov and TASS correspondents M. Gorbacheva and G. Shalakin: "The Restructuring Demands New Approaches: From the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom Plenum"]

[Text] The members of Kemerovo party obkom bureau prepared thoroughly for the plenum yesterday, at which their work in leading the restructuring was discussed. Nearly all of them appeared on local television the day before, and before that there were meetings in the labor collectives, where there was a broad exchange of opinions on the most vital issues of concern to the oblast's Communists and working people.

The Kuzbass labor collectives are ending the year quite well. On the eve of the plenum the coalfield's miners reported the ahead-of-schedule fulfillment of the annual plan, having brought to the surface more than 152 million tonnes of coal. The collectives of many enterprises have been working more smoothly in recent times. But the keynote speaker, party obkom First Secretary V.V. Bakatin, and the majority of the speakers at the plenum did not, as before, pay "tribute" to favorable facts and figures, but engaged in a searching discussion of the style and methods of the party obkom bureau and the resolution of the main tasks of the restructuring—democratization and the implementation of radical reform. The activity of the obkom bureau was analyzed from positions of high exactingness by V.N. Sitko, first secretary of Novokuznetsk party gorkom, V.I. Ovdenko, first secretary of Kemerovo party gorkom, V.A. Nosatenko, senior rolling press operator at the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Metallurgical Combine, O.N. Lazareva, sewing machine operator at the Kuzbass Factory, Yu.N. Malyshev, general director of the Yuzhkuzbassugol Association, O.T. Lebedeva, milkmaid at the Mokhovskiy Sovkhoz, and others.

Under the leadership of the obkom bureau, the activity of the primary party organizations has been stepped up in the oblast during the period of restructuring. There are marked changes in the work of the party committees. They are striving to rid themselves of surplus fuss and overorganization, and many have become more autonomous and consistent in their actions. There have also been positive changes in work with cadres.

In the course of the plenum, however, it was acknowledged self-critically that one must not be satisfied with what has been achieved. It is necessary resolutely to get rid of shortcomings in the work of all party components—working purely for show, formalism, and dogmatism—and to pursue the restructuring more vigorously in all spheres of the oblast's life.

The plenum participants put to the party obkom bureau many critical observations and constructive proposals for improving organizational, political, and ideological work.

The plenum was addressed by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

He stressed that the CPSU Central Committee attaches great significance to the party organs' reports on leading the restructuring and stepping up the party's organizing role in this matter. It is necessary to analyze in depth the activity of all party components and to define concrete paths for accelerating and deepening the restructuring in every oblast, city, and rayon and all the labor collectives.

A relatively short space of time divides us from the starting point—the Central Committee April (1985) plenum. But in terms of its significance for the future of socialism, the path traveled will take an outstanding place in the history of our party and state. With the active support and participation of the broad people's masses, cardinal measures to develop democracy and glasnost have been implemented in a short space of time.

The new political thinking is beginning to forge itself a path in international relations too. Convincing evidence of this was provided by the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, in the course of which M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and U.S. President R. Reagan signed the agreement on eliminating two classes of nuclear missiles. This step of historic, fundamental significance is welcomed and approved throughout the world.

A new, highly crucial phase in this process has begun,in which the key sphere of our society—the socialist economy—is being brought in on a wide scale.

From next year many sectors of the national economy are to transfer to full economic accountability and self-financing. The Law on the State Enterprise comes into force. Radical changes are being made to ministries' and departments' structure, functions, style and methods of work.

Speaking of the role of the Kuzbass in the country's economy, V.I. Dolgikh noted that this region provides one-fifth of the unionwide volume of coal and annually produces more than 12 million tonnes of steel, 8.5 million tonnes of rolled metal products, and a significant quantity of nonferrous metals.

The Kemerovo CPSU Obkom is taking certain steps to further develop and deepen the restructuring processes. A new atmosphere can be sensed everywhere. The working people's activeness is increasing, the situation in the collectives is improving, and positive developments have been achieved in the economy.

In the current 5-year plan the Kuzbass has extracted more than 6 million tonnes of coal above plan, the work of ferrous metallurgical enterprises has improved, and agriculture is developing more steadily. In 2 years industry in the oblast has obtained profits of more than R3 billion, and the production and procurement of meat, milk, and vegetables have increased.

At the same time the standard of leadership of the activity of city, rayon, and primary party organizations is still not up to the increased demands. Party gorkoms and raykoms sometimes lack energy, efficiency, and initiative, and have not fully overcome elements of bureaucracy and the strong-arm decree style of work.

In a number of spheres the restructuring is proceeding sluggishly, and certain party, soviet, and economic components in the oblast display inertia and an inability to work in the new way. The party obkom must, on the one hand, help leaders to operate effectively in the new conditions. and on the other show more exactingness toward them.

Political leadership of the restructuring and the acceleration of socioeconomic development must be exercised first and foremost through cadres, by means of improving their selection, placing, and education. The oblast party organization has considerable experience in forming a cadre corps capable of resolving complex economic and political tasks, the secretary of the CPSU Central Committee said.

The practice of the election of economic leaders by labor collectives is becoming increasingly widespread in the oblast. In Kemerovo this year alone some 500 leaders have been elected, 20% of them on a competitive basis. But in a number of places the principle of electing leaders is still approached cautiously. The area's mines are timid about electing sector chiefs, and there are virtually no elections of mine foremen.

The party obkom, gorkoms, and raykoms must study more profoundly the practical, political, and personal qualities of cadres and their ability to work with the collective and must monitor their activity more strictly. There are still major shortcomings here, and in a number of cases errors are committed in selecting leaders.

In work with cadres, such erroneous methods as administrative threats and numerous punishments have yet to be eradicated. This is evidence not so much of exactingness as of using the act of punishment as a screen to cover the need for effective measures.

Stressing that improving Soviet people's material and cultural standard of living is one of the most important aims of the restructuring, the speaker drew the attention of the plenum participants to the serious laggardness in the development of the social sphere in Kemerovo Oblast. Housing construction plans are not being fulfilled. Last year the working people of the Kuzbass failed to receive more than 200,000 square meters of housing. In the first 11 months of this year only 73% of the annual volume of housing was commissioned, and even less than that in Kemerovo.

The construction of schools, kindergartens, hospitals, and clinics is proceeding unsatisfactorily. Questions of trade and public catering require constant concern. In order to resolve the food problem, the agro-industrial complex and enterprises' subsidiary farms should be developed more intensively.

Expanding the production of consumer goods and improving their quality is an important task for party and soviet organs. The oblast's light industry must restructure itself more quickly and increase the production of high quality goods. In order to supply the population more fully with goods and services, wider use should be made of the potential of cooperatives, orienting them toward the manufacturing of additional output and providing incentives for those who go in for producing meat and growing vegetables.

One of the most serious social problems in the Kuzbass is the unfavorable ecological situation. Following the decisions adopted by the CPSU Central Committee and government on this question, ministries and departments and local party, soviet, and economic organs stepped up their work to prevent environmental pollution. As a result nature conservation indicators improved somewhat, but there has not been a radical breakthrough and the ecological situation remains extremely strained. It is necessary above all to step up the responsibility of leaders of enterprises and construction projects for the strict fulfillment of the planned nature conservation measures and to monitor the course of work strictly and systematically.

The whole range of social problems must be tackled urgently. The party obkom bureau must give a major boost to this work and bring it to the forefront as a very important component of the restructuring processes.

The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee went on to dwell on questions of party leadership of the economy. Speaking of the development of the coal industry, he noted that the area's miners have passed the 150-million-tonne mark in coal extraction. The pits and opencuts have been replenished with new, highly productive mining equipment. But this is no cause for complacency: The standard of work at many of the area's coal enterprises is not up to today's demands and a large number of mines have not fulfilled the plan for a long time. Concern must be caused by the state of affairs regarding technological discipline, the gross violations of which testify to the low standard of educational work in the labor collectives.

In the metallurgical industry, the general thrust of development is the retooling of enterprises and the introduction of efficient manufacturing processes. At the same time the radical reconstruction of the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine is suffering unjustifiable delays. Nor can work in this direction at the Zapadno-Sibirskiy combine be assessed positively. I believe, the speaker said, that the satisfactory work, on the whole, of these major enterprises tends to lull everyone. The party obkom has not taken an aggressive stand here and is insufficiently exacting about the fulfillment of the measures outlined.

V.I. Dolgikh mentioned the fulfillment of contractual commitments as the most important criterion in assessing the enterprises' work. The state of affairs here is alarming. Whereas last year 101 enterprises failed to cope with the plan for output sales taking contractual commitments into account, this year the figure is 143.

Many shortcomings in the development of production forces in the Kuzbass and in the resolution of social problems are due to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in capital construction. In this most important sector there have been no marked changes. The restructuring is proceeding sluggishly. Indicators are considerably lower here than in the country as a whole.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary stressed that the important tasks facing Kemerovo Oblast cannot be resolved without an improvement in capital construction. In coal mining, the target of 230-250 million tonnes a year must be reached in the next 15-20 years. The power industry must be renewed, bottlenecks in transportation must be eliminated, and the volume of modernization of metallurgical plans and construction of social, cultural, and consumer facilities must be increased several times over.

The organizational restructuring of management of industrial enterprises and construction organizations has begun in the oblast, with the setting up of the Kuzbass State Production Association of the Coal Industry and the Kuzbassshakhtostroy State Production Association.

In the period of formation they need constant attention from both ministries and local party committees. First of all it is necessary to provide the state production associations with a good supply of cadres and ensure all the conditions exist for realizing the advantages of a large association, especially in the implementation of investment policy and the resolution of the tasks of scientific and technical progress.

The preparation of enterprises for the transition to economic accountability and self-financing requires acceleration. The party obkom and economic leaders should devote more attention to the enterprises' financial position and to increasing their profitability with a view to ensuring that the profit obtained can ensure the development of production and the implementation of social measures. The need for this was stressed at the recent conference in the CPSU Central Committee on questions of preparing the sectors for the practical implementation of the economic reform.

Assessing the course of the restructuring in the economy of the Kuzbass, the speaker concluded that the foundations are laid, but the main work still lies ahead.

The restructuring presupposes maximum mobilization of internal reserves for production in every enterprise, shop, sector, and team. It is a question of considerably improving the utilization of fixed capital and strengthening the thrift policy in all spheres of production and consumption. This is not only an advantageous source of income, but also one of the most important factors for balancing the national economic plan.

Ideological backup for the restructuring should become the daily concern of the party obkom. It must be ensured that political and educational work is more closely linked with life and does not bypass tricky questions. Its center of gravity should be shifted directly to the labor collectives. More attention should be devoted to the economic training of workers and specialists.

Much remains to be done to help the masses acquire the ethos of socialist democracy, V.I. Dolgikh said in conclusion. Glasnost cannot be confined to criticism alone. It is an important task of the mass media to collect positive experience of constructive work and disseminate it widely.

The committed, principled discussion at the plenum of the means and methods of improving party work will give new impetus to the stepping up of the activity of the oblast's detachment of more than 240,000 Communists and the enhancement of their vanguard role in the struggle to implement the 27th party congress decisions and greet the 19th All-Union Party Conference in a fitting manner.

During his stay in Kemerovo Oblast 23 through 26 December V.I. Dolgikh visited a number of industrial enterprises and studied the course of the restructuring in the labor collectives in the main sectors of the industrial Kuzbass—coal, metallurgy, and power.

Talking with workers, specialists, and leaders at the Zapadno-Sibirskiy Metallurgical Combine, the CPSU Central Committee secretary inquired about the readiness of the grass-roots production components at the enterprise—the shops and sectors—for work under the new economic management conditions in 1988.

During a visit to the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine attention was focused on the project to modernize the pioneer of Siberia's socialist industry. During the discussion of measures to accelerate the renewal of fixed production capital at the Kuznetsk Metallurgical Combine it was stressed that one of the main reasons for the lag which has occurred is the insufficient coordination of the actions of the client, designers, and construction workers.

At the Novokuznetskiy party gorkom, with the participation of economic leaders, party committee secretaries, and trade union and Komsomol workers, the preliminary results of the work of the city's metallurgical enterprises in the current year were summed up and their readiness for the transition to full economic accountability and self-financing was carefully analyzed.

At a meeting with secretaries of party organizations of coal mines and opencuts in Prokopyevsk City, there was an exchange of opinions on new approaches to party work at the second stage of the restructuring. Mention was made of the need to improve the style and methods of the work of primary party organizations and step up their role in the implementation of the radical economic reform, democratization, and glasnost.

The CPSU Central Committee secretary visited the control room of the Siberian Integrated Energy System.

At a conference in the CPSU Obkom consideration was given to questions of the work, development, and retooling of coal industry, ferrous metallurgy, and power industry enterprises. Particular attention was devoted to progress in fulfilling party and government resolutions on improving the ecological situation in Kemerovo Oblast. It was noted that the situation regarding the conservation of the region's atmosphere and water sources remains unsatisfactory. Leaders of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, power industry, and chemical

enterprises are slow to design and construct nature conservation projects and do not adopt the necessary measures to strengthen technological discipline in the collectives.

In Novokuznetsk, Prokopyevsk, and Kemerovo V.I. Dolgikh visited mass housing developments and studied the work of service enterprises. He inquired about the provision of food and industrial goods to the citizens and the development of cooperative trade. Attention was drawn to the need to increase the pace and improve the quality of the construction of housing and cultural and consumer facilities and to the timely commissioning of stores, public catering enterprises, kindergartens, and medical institutions.

A meeting took place with members of the Kemerovo CPSU Obkom Bureau. The need to further mobilize the efforts of the oblast's party organizations and all the working people of the Kuzbass to implement the decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums was discussed.

V.I. Dolgikh was accompanied on his tour of the oblast by V.V. Bakatin.

Ukraine Obkom Plenum 'Playing at Criticism'

PM060901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Dec 87 First Edition p 2

[Special correspondents A. Bogachuk, M. Odinets report under rubric "Party Life: Elected Organs' Reports": "Sweetened Criticism"]

[Text] Donetsk—Analyzing the Donetsk party obkom's work style and restructuring experience, the participants in the oblast committee plenum cited the following facts and figures with satisfaction. The oblast coal industry has met the target for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan ahead of schedule, producing 5 million tonnes of fuel in excess of the plan. All industrial output growth is due to increased labor productivity. Plans for selling all types of crop and livestock products (with the exception of fruit) to the state have been overfulfilled.

Yes, there have been improvements in the oblast economy. But a considerable number of problems have also built up. The number of laggard enterprises has increased. Virtually one in two collectives is failing to secure the main valuation indicator of economic activity—sale of output based on deliveries. One in four is not meeting targets to increase labor productivity and one in three is not meeting profit targets. In the first 11 months of this year products worth more than R440 million were not delivered to consumers.

Serious figures, which must have put the plenum members in a far from complacent frame of mind—quite the opposite, they must have provoked concern and strict personal analysis.

They voiced particular concern over the state of affairs at a number of ferrous metallurgy and machine building enterprises. Due to a high accident rate and poor technological and production discipline, the Yenakiyevo Metallurgical Plant and the Kirov Combine in Makeyevka have failed to meet the plan in every section. This year Donetsk metallurgists have failed to meet orders for more than 600,000 tonnes of rolled metal, thereby bringing hundreds of plants and new installations "to their knees" across the country. It goes without saying that the USSR Ministry of Ferrous Metallurgy, which gives preference to arbitrary leadership methods, is also to blame for this. But it was admitted at the plenum that lack of exactingness on the part of the obkom bureau and former Second Secretary—now Oblispolkom Chairman—V. Kucherenko has also contributed. Kucherenko is personally responsible for this very important sector. This is the assessment given his work in the report: He has failed to display the necessary persistence and consistency.... Evasive criticism, as we can see.

"Serious shortcomings in the economy," A. Bulyanda, director of the Zhdanov "Azovstal" Metallurgical Combine, said, "are sometimes the result of shortcomings in the work style and methods of the party obkom bureau. Many enterprises are now in the position where, because of their very serious financial situation, they are unable to pay people their wages. In my opinion, when preparing for the transfer to the new economic management methods, the obkom departments and bureau did not see this enormous amount of work through to the end."

A complicated situation has also taken shape in the machine building complex. The "Zhdanovtyazhmash" Association is not fulfilling its output quota, for example. Discussing this particular association, S. Kuzenin, secretary of the Zhdanov CPSU Gorkom, noted that its work has been examined more than once at party obkom bureau sessions. What seem to be the right decisions have been taken in order to remove the shortcomings. They have not been put into practice, however, the speaker said, because of inadequate organization by the bureau and sector departments.

From 1 January one-third of the oblast's enterprises are transferring to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing and being incorporated in a completely new system of economic relations. In preparation for this important stage of radical economic reform, the party obkom bureau and secretariat heard reports by economic managers and party committee secretaries on their own preparations for the transfer. Matters still have to move faster, however. Of the 29 enterprises operating on the basis of full economic accountability, 16 are failing to honor delivery contracts.

They include the Snezhnoye "Khimmash." A survey conducted at this enterprise revealed that more than half of its engineering and technical workers and shop and sector leaders and the majority of its workers know nothing of the fundamentals of economic accountability

or the ways to transfer to economic management methods. Even party workers themselves are still "floundering" when it comes to contemporary economic issues, the plenum members pointed out.

O. Leonov, first secretary of the Krasnoarmeysk CPSU Gorkom, noted that at this crucial stage in restructuring the economy, the activity of the party obkom's sector and economic departments must be particularly constructive. The obkom bureau heard the gorkom's report on its preparations for the transfer to economic accountability and self-financing. Many shortcomings were pointed out. This is both necessary and important. However, the speaker said, we had expected practical assistance from the obkom.

The plenum participants rightly criticized the obkom bureau and its secretaries—G. Yerkhov in particular—for the oblast's failure to give sufficient attention to economic instruction. It is isolated from practice and dominated by formalism.

The plenum pointed out that the obkom bureau has failed to ensure the kind of situation where all gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations are in the forefront of restructuring and energetically and persistently working for its progress.

"The party obkom bureau," V. Ignatov, first secretary of the Donetsk Gorkom, said, "has still not managed to lead the renewal process or, most important of all, to bring the main force—the primary party organizations—into play. They often adopt a wait-and-see attitude and hang back when it comes to solving new tasks."

Since the 27th CPSU Congress one-fourth of Ukrainian Communist Party gorkom and raykom secretaries, more than one-third of gorispolkom and rayispolkom chairmen, and 73 managers of enterprises and organizations have been replaced. But if only a principled attitude were always taken to cadre assessment! This is the reason why the oblast has long suffered various chiefs who are not only incapable of restructuring but are actually holding back progress. They include a considerable number of managers of large enterprises and organizations.

In connection with the forthcoming 19th party conference, the plenum participants proposed to introduce a mandatory procedure of holding report sessions between report and election meetings and conferences during which it would be possible to dismiss those not pulling their weight. They also proposed to study the status of every member of an elected body—party bureau, party committee, raykom, gorkom, and so forth—and define it in the CPSU Statute. They proposed to review present practice and the normative documents determining the regularity of plenums and meetings and reduce their number. One of the speakers proposed electing raykom and gorkom secretaries by direct ballot involving all party conference delegates and not just the members of elected bodies.

...So a report session was held. The activity of every bureau member was assessed. It was clear from the hall that the presidium members were listening closely to the speakers and making notes. What were they jotting down? Obkom Secretary Yu. Usatenko, responsible for agriculture, was probably making a note of the suggestion phrased so delicately: "Take a more principled stance when dealing with sore points in the agro-industrial complex." Obkom Secretary S. Povazhnyy, responsible for the coal industry, evidently noted the timid wish that he show more initiative and persistence. Obkom Secretary L. Bezlepkina obviously could not fail to note the compliment: She works very hard but she must be more demanding.

Criticism was addressed to First Secretary V. Mironov in the same spirit: "You, Vasiliy Petrovich, must be more decisive...." "Vasiliy Petrovich, you are requested to be more specific and more exacting with regard to...." Ye. Yukhno, first secretary of the Gorlovka CPSU Gorkom, obviously softened his criticism: He personally is impressed by the obkom first secretary's work, he said.

The plenum also discussed the style of party leadership. Many speakers gave a thorough analysis. But whenever it came to personally assessing the actions of presidium members, people began to beat about the bush. For example: "We know S. Esin, chairman of the oblast agroprom and candidate member of the party obkom bureau, to be an experienced, exacting party and economic worker, but..."

G. Maleyev, rector of the Donetsk Polytechnical Institute and member of the party obkom, had this to say on the subject: "One gets the impression that sometimes the obkom plenum is just playing at criticism."

Fair comment.

Solovyev Addresses Leningrad Obkom Plenum

PM051140 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[PRAVDA correspondent V. Gerasimov report under the rubric "Party Life: Reports of Elected Organs": "Speaking Openly"]

[Text] Leningrad—As already reported, a Leningrad CPSU Obkom plenum was held to discuss the bureau report on work in leading the restructuring. They began to prepare for the plenum beforehand. The obkom members went to meetings at primary party organizations and met with people at their places of work. Through the local press, the party obkom appealed to Leningraders to put forward their thoughts on urgent matters. Some 2,000 concrete proposals were received. It was this diverse information which helped make it possible to hold the plenum in a businesslike manner. The report was delivered by Yu. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad party obkom.

"Labor collectives are being granted full economic autonomy. Party organizations are called upon more actively to uncover and eliminate the braking factors. In my view the poor quality of output is due solely to the lack of personal responsibility for the task in hand." (From a letter from L. Molchanova.)

This idea emerged particularly strongly in the report and in the speeches of G. Bykov, molder at the Znamya Truda Association, A. Klyuchnikov, secretary of the Baltiyskiy Plant party committee, and others. Collective responsibility is all very well, they said, but in life not infrequently it all boils down to facelessness. It is necessary sharply to step up exactingness concerning each Communist's concrete contribution to the restructuring. A creative attitude to the job and a sense of personal, individual responsibility are more necessary today than ever before. This is dictated by the course of the restructuring itself, which is not going easily.

For the Leningraders the 5-year plan began with the elaboration and deepening of the "Intensification-90" program, making it possible to involve virtually all enterprises and organizations in its implementation, and this included the transition to multishift work. Monitoring was strengthened to ensure the stricter delimitation of the functions of party, soviet, and economic organs. A specific system of party influence of economic and social policy was set up. As a result the oblast fulfilled plan targets, and even overfulfilled them in some indicators. However, there has yet to be a major breakthrough.

Why, for instance, is the machine building complex suffering serious hitches? They are due not least to the work style of the department headed by A. Volkov, where they are fond of holding all kinds of conferences and like to issue instructions and directives. But in the speakers' opinion they should visit the primary party organizations more and get down to concrete work with them.

That is what they do, for instance, at the Light Industry and Consumer Goods Department. Only recently the state of affairs in that sector was sharply and rightly criticized. How did department chief I. Yegorov begin? He set up a very close link with the enterprises' party committees and administration. Together they uncovered the "weak points" and set about eliminating them persistently. Today the sector is emerging from its difficulties. It is virtually ready for the transition to full economic accountability.

The obkom bureau, the speakers noted, devote sharp attention to the accelerated development of the agro-industrial complex, but the contribution to implementing the Food Program should be more substantial. In this connection there was serious criticism of obkom secretary A. Pavlov, who, failing to take a long-term view, interferes in the day-to-day activity of the oblast agro-industrial committee.

"In the new housing district where I live, there are no trade or public catering enterprises. You have to take a bus even to buy bread. There are not enough kindergartens, clinics, or pharmacies." (From a letter from M. Kolesnikov.)

The range of problems in the oblast's social infrastructure is complex. While adopting measures to eliminate the disproportions which have arisen and directing the gorkoms, raykoms, and soviets to do the same, the obkom bureau has yet to achieve the desired changes.

True, more apartment blocks are being built now. But development still does not take place comprehensively. Or take the trade system. The external appearance of its enterprises is unattractive. The standard of service evokes many reproaches. The obkom Trade and Consumer Services Department, headed by V. Fedoseyev, must show more exactingness toward leaders.

More than 7,000 citizens are engaged in individual labor activity. However, work here is developing only slowly. There are many shortcomings in health care, public education, and culture. The proposal was put forward that the obkom bureau should carry out an evaluation of the social base of rayons, cities, and settlements, draw up a precise program for the flexible and proportionate provision of ancillary services, and step up exactingness toward local soviets for its implementation. There was sharp criticism of the activity of the planning commissions of the Leningrad Gorispolkom and Oblispolkom.

The main stratum of problems of the restructuring lies in the labor collectives. People must be brought into the management of production and encouraged to seek progressive forms of organizing work and providing material and moral incentives in the atmosphere of democracy and glasnost. In this context there were serious complaints about the oblast trade unions council and its chairman, party obkom bureau member V. Korzhov.

"In the guise of the expansion of democracy and glasnost, many so-called informal groups of various kinds have appeared in Leningrad. Some hold spontaneous gatherings and rallies at which everyone and everything are censured. Some claim the right to monitor the actions of official institutions and are unwilling to listen to anyone but themselves." (From a letter from Yu. Lukyanov.)

The vast majority of Leningraders reject the demagogic scum which has risen to the surface on the wave of restructuring, and reject the various pseudochampions of "social justice." Are the Communists, the ideological aktiv, prepared to oppose this muddy wave?

Nonstereotyped approaches to the study of people's mood and needs have recently been actively introduced. Sociological studies are carried out. The discussion of citywide problems through the press, television, and radio has become customary. But the transition from

didacticism to dialogue, from edification to persuasion and well argued polemics, is not yet universal. The obkom Propaganda and Agitation Department does not study the problems of influencing processes in the necessary depth.

The times make it incumbent on us to take a new look at the preparation of young people for labor and public life, but the educational reform has not yet really taken its place in the schools and vocational and technical institutes or among students. The education and training process is still in its well worn rut.

Discussing questions of the development of glasnost and democracy, the plenum participants noted the special role of the mass media. Local newspaper articles and television programs have become markedly more searching. Journalists are tackling the coverage of complex socioeconomic phenomena and raising important problems. At the same time there is a tendency to sensationalism, and hence criticism is often unconstructive and assessments are prejudiced and subjective. Yet the truth is won through argument between viewpoints, through equal, polite dialogue.

Debates are necessary and useful, and should be be developed more widely. However, in cultural life squabbles often flare up over creative matters and relapses into factional bias have become evident. Certain representatives of the intelligentsia confine their personal participation in the restructuring to attacking their opponents and pinning labels on them. Party organizations and obkom departments, it was noted at the plenum, must not lose sight of the dynamic of social processes.

"A. Kubasov has been director for 18 months. He does not understand the production work, nor does he try to. He has handed over everything to his deputy, and himself set about tackling personal matters of self-interest, although the enterprise is in a poor way." (From a letter from workers at the Pushkinskiy Machine Repair Plant.)

A check showed that the letter has not laid it on too thick. With the connivance of the secretary of the plant party bureau, A. Kubasov, not stinting the state's money, instead of providing consumer amenities for the shops, has fitted out leisure apartments next to his personal office.

Unfortunately "leaders" of that kind can be met within the oblast. But they do not determine the nature of the cadre corps.

A key role in the resolution of the new tasks is allotted to Communists who are devoted to the cause, the party organizations, and their elected organs. Their work style has changed markedly and the number of sessions and conferences has fallen. The autonomy of gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations has been widened. Many barriers created by overorganization have been removed. Monitoring and checking on execution have been stepped up.

The usefulness of the steps taken is obvious, the plenum participants said, but they should be seen as a start in improving the work style and the selection and placing of cadres.

In order to step up the responsibility of each leader and overcome inertia in Communists everywhere, it was said by N. Vorobyeva, operator at the "Pashskiy" complex, and V. Filippov, secretary of Krasnoselskiy CPSU Raykom, the obkom bureau and apparatus must consistently develop intraparty democracy, place more confidence in the primary party organizations, and help them.

Acknowledging the justice of the criticism, the keynote speaker, in assessing the work of the bureau and each of its members personally, was objective and exacting. He stated frankly that the desired dynamic changes in the style of the apparatus' activity have not yet been achieved.

The plenum participants submitted a number of proposals on the democratization of party life and the strengthening of Communists' discipline which merit discussion at the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

Human Rights Body To View 'Painful Phenomena'
PM051341 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Dec 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS correspondent L. Kislinskaya Moscow interview "specially for SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA" with F. Burlatskiy, chairman of the Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights, under the heading "'We Have a Strong Platform'"; first two paragraphs are editorial introduction]

[Text] International cooperation in the field of humanitarian programs and human rights is now becoming very important. The beginning of the disarmament process creates favorable preconditions for this. The plans of the recently established Public Commission on Humanitarian Cooperation and Human Rights treats these problems as working problems. The activity of this organization has aroused much interest in our own country and abroad.

So what does the new commission represent? This question was answered by F. Burlatskiy, the well-known Soviet scientist and publicist who is chairman of the commission.

[Burlatskiy] The commission for international cooperation in humanitarian problems and human rights was formed under the auspices of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation. The idea had been

in circulation for a long time. Strictly speaking, we took far too long to set up the commission. After all, the 1975 Helsinki Final Act proposed public activity in our country in this area.

Our organization came into being on the initiative of a group of scientific and cultural figures. Writers such as Grigoriy Baklanov and Ales Adamovich, scientists including Academician Boris Raushenbakh, publicists such as Vitaliy Ignatenko, and I myself proposed this useful initiative. We felt it quite natural that the commission should function within the framework of the Committee for European Security and Cooperation, as its activity meets the requirements of the Helsinki Act.

The commission was formed on the basis of one criterion alone: It is not an official institution and promises no benefits or even a minimum wage, and so it has attracted only genuine enthusiasts.

Strictly speaking, as far as we are all concerned this kind of cooperation has long been a fait accompli. You will not find many people on the commission who do not have close contacts with foreign colleagues; this is our great potential. We now want to pool our individual resources. The commission currently has just over 30 members. But we receive proposals from various people who want to help us. They are welcome to do so—our doors are open.

[Kislinskaya] Where can people find you?

[Burlatskiy] Only in one place at the moment: The building of the Commission for European Cooperation, which is at No 3, Kropotkinskaya Street.

But now I will go back to our first question and talk about the aims and tasks the commission has set itself. The main task is to find a new approach to the problems of international cooperation. For a long time after the adoption of the Helsinki Final Act humanitarian problems and human rights were not the subject of cooperation but, more often than not, the complete reverse: They were the subject of discord. Often, as a result of factors now known to all, which were engendered by our period of stagnation, discussions of this nature were used as a means to worsen the political and psychological atmosphere, thereby greatly damaging East-West relations and talks to resolve the urgent problems of ending the arms race and ensuring continued, gradual disarmament.

We would, of course, like to promote a different approach in the spirit of the new thinking. This means that we—I mean East and West—must combine our efforts to set this important problem the right way up. In other words, we must not lambast one another with mutual recriminations or seek the mote in the other side's eye but try to adopt a reasonable, calm approach. In this respect we proceed from a very simple consideration set out in Helsinki. It was pointed out that every state must try to ensure the exercise of human rights in its country with ever greater consistency and at an increasingly deep level. It is assumed that the exercise of these rights is a constant process and this process depends on a great many factors. First and foremost, it depends on the level of the country's economic development, its historical traditions, the political culture of its people, and its state and social institutions. It would be strange and absurd to use the same yardstick in our approach to one another.

This does not mean, of course, that everyone must lock themselves in their own home and think only of their own problems. We need cooperation, the exchange of experience, and the consistent implementation of all norms of international law, which is now recorded in various UN documents.

Above all, a thorough study of the experience of different social systems with all their achievements, problems, shortcomings, and quests is needed. Everyone knows that our country is currently undergoing a far-reaching process of social change; it has been given the title of glasnost, democratization, restructuring. Our public commission operates along these lines, setting itself the task of promoting new thinking in our own country and the renewal of legislation, particularly legal practice in various humanitarian spheres.

Nevertheless the main area of our activity is, of course, international cooperation. We proceed from a simple idea which has been voiced repeatedly in our press: Everything is closely interlinked in today's world. I do not just mean security issues intelligible to all—either we all survive or we all die, with exception made for no one. I am talking about interconnected processes in the development of new technology and in cultural life. No country in the world can develop if it is not open to cooperation in all spheres.

So what is the moral of all this? It is simple: We must create a real information society. This must, of course, be assisted by international cooperation with socialist and capitalist countries.

We do, of course, realize that there are serious differences in the approach to the problem of human rights here and in the West. In my opinion, the West has always placed the greatest emphasis on the principle of freedom, especially freedom in economic life. This primarily reflects capitalism's main aspiration as a system: the law of competition, which ultimately leads to man's exploitation by man. If we are talking about our own system, it places special emphasis on equality. This is explained first and foremost by the principles of socialism. Although, I must be honest and admit that these principles have sometimes been distorted and consequently

come into conflict with human rights. We have no right to turn a blind eye to the errors and even crimes which took place with regard to human rights in the thirties.

We are thinking about radically restructuring our society and, consequently, about adopting a new approach, while the West gives little thought to this as a rule. I cannot really think of any serious plans originating from the leaders of capitalist countries that have the aim of making radical changes to capitalist society as a society of equal rights and equal opportunities.

[Kislinskaya] What is the international attitude to the formation of your commission?

[Burlatskiy] It has aroused a great deal of interest. I became convinced of this in Washington during the summit meeting. I met representatives of many U.S. social organizations, established contacts, and reached agreement on cooperation. I gave dozens of interviews for the radio, television, and press of many countries. I feel there is enormous scope for our activity and a firm platform for cooperation.

[Kislinskaya] What are the areas of your cooperation?

[Burlatskiy] They are highly varied: science, mainly the humanities; education, culture, and human rights themselves. The presence of authoritative representatives in all these fields allows us to be good partners for our foreign colleagues during meetings, conferences, and dialogues.

[Kislinskaya] What are you going to do at home? This question interests and fascinates readers more than anything else....

[Burlatskiy] It is true that the formation of our organization has prompted a colossal flood of letters and phone calls and an endless number of requests on particular matters from people whose rights have been violated or who feel that the law has not been complied with.

I must point out that in this respect we have to clearly define our limits right from the start and decide what we can and cannot do. We are not a state organization. What is more, we do not have our own apparatus. Our job is to bring social pressure to bear on the discussion and legal consolidation of a new approach to many human rights problems emanating from the conditions of glasnost and democratization.

[Kislinskaya] As far as I am aware, you receive a great many proposals on cooperation with other organizations, including unofficial ones. But there are more than 100 of these in Moscow at the moment....

[Burlatskiy] This point must also be made quite clear, in order to avoid offense or rumors. I have already discussed our platform—our doors are open to any organization based on the Soviet Constitution and our laws and with official status.

[Kislinskaya] How do you react to the stream of letters, complaints, and requests?

[Burlatskiy] People write in about violations of their economic and civil rights—one was fired, another was refused an apartment, another was not registered as an invalid. We also receive letters from refuseniks who have not been issued with exit visas. We hear from people who believe they have been unjustly confined to psychiatric treatment units and unlawfully held there.

What can I say about this? It goes without saying that we understand and sympathize with a request from any individual whose rights have been violated, and we do not want to shut ourselves off from these letters. But the public must understand us correctly—we have no apparatus with which to investigate this stream of letters and complaints. For a specific case to be understood it must be investigated. That is why we have set ourselves two tasks: to conduct a process of scientifically generalizing these letters, analyzing them, and establishing the sensitive areas which come to light in the stream of complaints. We have asked representatives of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Legislation to give us every possible assistance in this matter.

We will raise issues connected with improving our legislation. We discussed some questions along these lines at our first sessions: drawing up a press law, for example.

From the very outset, the church figures who are members of our commission raised the issue of updating legislation on the role of the church in Soviet society. After all, the most recent laws on this question were passed at the end of the twenties.

A committee on humanitarian cooperation and human rights is going to be established in the near future. It will have its own apparatus and its own premises, which will allow it to examine specific letters and complaints.

Our own immediate plans include "round tables" with government and law enforcement bodies. We will exchange opinions on the problems of improving legislation and provide information—on the basis of material at our disposal—on the painful phenomena still present in our society.

Our work program also includes educational activity and discussions and dialogues at various forums in our country in which anyone interested may take part.

Historian Calls for 'Whole Truth' About Bukharin

PM061041 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 51, 21-27 Dec 87 (Signed to Press 23 Dec 87) pp 6,7

[Candidate of Historical Sciences Anatoliy Latyshev article under the rubric "Historical Club": "Bukharin—Known and Unknown"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] History is an amazing science. Nothing in it becomes a postulate immediately, nothing becomes final within a brief period. Years later historians revert to names that seem to have been forgotten and, on the basis of their knowledge, provide assessments of events and people that are possibly fairer and more objective than in the past.

We are living through precisely such a period today, obeying the commandment of the time and restoring in the socialist state's history the names of soviet, party, and state figures, scientists, and cultural workers who fell victim to the political trials inspired by Stalin in the thirties. An act of justice—this is the right assessment of the process now under way in our history.

But the work of researchers, writers, publicists, and scientists to fill the gaps in history now, in the eighties of the 20th century—work which carries a tremendous moral and political charge—can no longer allow itself any subjectivism, hysterical emotions, or wholesale rejection of everything accomplished by the Soviet people along the heroic path traveled in 70 years. This work must of course be conducted strictly on the basis of archive documents and reminiscences by eyewitnesses of events in those years, scrupulously analyzing all disputed features of the historical past.

Alas, in years not so long past, such attempts came across considerable, at times even insurmountable, difficulties. Look no further than the following fact: In his own lifetime and against his own will, A.I. Mikoyan was forced to include in his memoirs vignettes aimed at discrediting N.I. Bukharin, whom Anastas Ivanovich treated with great respect and tact....

It was no accident that I cited this example: Some sort of "prohibited zone" existed for many years around the name of Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin, and several generations of historians have already been reared in the traditions of criticism of right-wing deviations within the Communist Party. It is only natural that the materials now appearing in newspapers and journals about Nikolay Ivanovich's life and activity in the years of the establishment of the Land of the Soviets would affect both professional and, I believe, personal interests.

In these conditions, renewed discussions and clashes of views that are at times polarized are inevitable. But, when engaging in polemics, it is primarily necessary to take a look at the essence of the arguments from positions of strict historicism, avoiding the principle of "tagging labels" which is rooted both in the historians' professional awareness and in the awareness of the masses.

I.

A recent example. One of the latest issues of a well-known literary-artistic journal devoted a few lines to N.I. Bukharin: In 1927 he, a member of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Central Committee, joined the opposition, and later wrote his "Malicious Remarks" against Yesenin's creative work.... The "settlement of accounts" came in 1929—the Central Committee plenum and Bukharin's exposure. And that is all! As if it were Bukharin rather than the cult of Stalin's personality that was answerable to our culture for the fact that the name of a great Russian and Soviet poet was overlooked in silence for decades on end! Let alone the fact many of Yesenin's fellow writers were physically destroyed together with N.I. Bukharin during the years of Stalin's repressions....

I am convinced that the time is coming when readers will be able to make up their own minds on this issue by reading Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin's works. For the time being, one has to remain satisfied with extracts and commentaries.

The personality of N.I. Bukharin—party theoretician, major ideologist, economist, and one of our country's most respected leaders in his time—is complex and contradictory. Of course, his life deserves the most attentive study. But even isolated and at times fragmented episodes reveal his extraordinary personality, helping us to understand the entire complexity of this man's political awareness.

The story of the "Malicious Remarks" is indicative. Yes, Nikolay Ivanovich failed to grasp the grandeur of Yesenin's poetry and made undeservedly harsh assessments of him in his article. But this is, after all, only the external appearance of facts. What was it that drove Bukharin to literary criticism?

The party ideologist at that time was worried by the fact that, following the poet's death, circles of young "Yesenin Widows" were being set up everywhere, that a small anthology of Yesenin's impudent poems was being read by young people in secret, and that Yesenin's name was being used as cover "by entire Montblancs of poeticized dissoluteness on the part of 'brother writers' 'hitting the bottle,' not entirely without coquetry but, of course, 'for the good of the people.'" (I have borrowed these lines from the pamphlet "Malicious Remarks," published in Moscow in 1927 and, as is well known, never reissued since—author's note.) The excuse for writing this work of literary criticism was provided by the publication of P.

Druzhinin's poem "Russian" in the journal KRASNAYA NOV. Let us look at the extract quoted by Bukharin to grasp the content and spirit of this poem.

"Oh Russia, you are wonderful! You are alive

Just like the Russian bliny are alive.

Your thatch-roofed peasants' huts

Are full of oatmeal secrets!...

...Oh land of mine, like an ancient sword

With light and darkness shining back and forth.

A princess living inside every hut,

And a fool to be met on every street.

Wearing multicolored dresses

And boisterous pants....

To hell with all the other countries,

Except the Land of the Soviets!

And I love you as you are,

With the melancholy and sadness of the fields,

Nor will I swap your melancholy

For all the joys across the sea...."

It would have been only natural for Bukharin, finely attuned to and well versed in the poetry of Russia and the world, having written much on the subject, to descend on the poetic "roughness" of the poem in question. But no! He was much more deeply perturbed (and this would seem clear enough without any further comment) by the political overtones of the lines: "To hell with all the other countries, except the Land of the Soviets!" N.I. Bukharin writes that this is not simply a matter of "national narrow-mindedness" but of "simple and straightforward chauvinistic swinishness." He leveled, in my opinion, perfectly deserved criticism at manifestations of the "servile past" which were extolled by some poets: The backwardness, the fights, the drunkenness, the "Khvalynsk blue sea" of vodka and tears, the foul language, the indolence, the lack of respect for labor, the hooliganism, the "flirtation with the divine," the swinish attitudes to women, the inner "impudent" abandon—everything which, in his opinion, was incompatible with socialist morality and humanism. But it was not just these trends in poetry and literature at that time that worried Nikolay Ivanovich: He descended with equal journalistic fervor on the remnants of Oblomov-like attitudes, the opinionatedness of members of the intelligentsia, and the "slave-like pace of work."

Of course, with the benefit of hindsight, one cannot agree with some of Bukharin's assessments. Let us look no further than Bukharin's "digs" at Ivan Bunin and the poet-singer Vertinskiy, or his critical salvo at Tyutchev's famous couplet:

"Russia is baffling to the mind,

Not subject to the common measure...."

But Yesenin was the major target of criticism.

"Is Yesenin talented?", Bukharin asks. And he admits: "Of course he is. How could anyone argue about it?... Yesenin's poetry often sounds like a silver stream." He concludes that Yesenin's major influence on young people stems from the fact that he, in contrast with ideological workers, touches the innermost heartstrings of young people's souls.

II.

The following conclusions by Bukharin sound so topical today: "We are dishing out amazingly bland ideological feed. I do not mean that it, this feed, is cooked according to the one and only communist recipe. This recipe is very good and, generally speaking, the greater this unity, the better. But the point is that here we again tend to overlook the consumer's interests: The consumer is quite often served with stereotyped paragraphs and circulars, written with such boring monotony that anyone unaccustomed to them begins to feel sick.

"It used to be said that, given sufficient patience, you could teach a dog to perform any trick. Now this adage is being amended and it is claimed that, by applying that same principle, a dog could be taught to select quotations. But perhaps even a dog will rebel if he is fed one and the same ideological stuff all the time, every day and every night.

"Communist ideology goes much further than just the single issue of price reductions, no matter how important this issue may be. Communists and workers in general are not moving abstractions, they are living people made of flesh and blood. Nothing that is human is alien to them. They suffer, feel joy, fight, love, live, and die. Each and every one of them is an individual and not a statistical average walking on two feet, not an index number, not a paragraph, and not a clause in a resolution on a current matter."

Turning to various statements by N.I. Bukharin, you find yourself thinking: What a profound brain stands behind them! How then are we to reconcile V.I. Lenin's words about Bukharin ("he never studied") with the image emerging before our very eyes—the image of an erudite, exceptionally capable, and perfectly well educated person, fluent in several foreign languages? There is, in my view, just one answer: There was no system in Nikolay Ivanovich's encyclopedic knowledge.

Let us recall how seriously Lenin studied from his first year at high school. And here is what N.I. Bukharin writes in his autobiography: that his passion from childhood was reading, but unsystematic reading, reading "whatever came to my hands." "My grades in high school (Moscow's No 1 High School) were always around the five mark [top grade], even though I never applied myself at all, never had any dictionaries, always hurriedly 'copied' the 'words' from my schoolmates and 'prepared' my lessons 5-10 minutes before the teacher entered.... When I enrolled in university I used it mainly either as a meeting place or to launch some sort of theoretical 'sortie' at a seminar conducted by some respectable liberal professor."

It must be emphasized that Lenin's subsequent assessment of Bukharin—as "the most valuable and greatest party theoretician" but subject to the reservation that it was highly doubtful whether his theoretical views could be classed as completely Marxist because there was "something scholastic" in them and Bukharin "never fully understood dialectics"—must be interpreted most literally, in the same way as we interpret Lenin's other words: "It is impossible to fully understand Marx' 'Das Kapital,' especially its first chapter, without having thoroughly studied and understood all of Hegel's 'Logic.' Consequently, 50 years later, none of the Marxists has fully understood Marx"!!

Nowadays scientists in different disciplines are again studying N.I. Bukharin's works to answer some complex questions: For example, was the alternative collectivization proposed by Bukharin—at a slower pace but without repressions and with a well thought-out taxation policy—practically feasible?

III.

It is clear to the author of these lines, being an international historian, that among our leaders it was Bukharin who produced the most correct assessments of the prospects of capitalism's development. While G. Zinovyev, I. Stalin, and L. Trotskiy described capitalism in the late twenties as increasingly "disintegrating" and "tottering," N. Bukharin undeviatingly spoke of the great potential of capitalism, of the implementation of a form of nationalization by capitalism which would enable it to increase profits while raising the wages of part of the working class, and which—as subsequent world development proved—would temporarily ease the urgency of class contradictions. Following the Fifth Comintern Congress (1924), N. Bukharin noted a certain increase in capitalism's stability and advised a "more careful formulation of the process of capitalism's collapse." At the Sixth Congress (1928) he spoke against including in the Comintern program any stipulations about "limitations" on capitalist development and reproduction. Foresight?...

The attitude of our party's leaders to the very dangerous phenomenon of fascism, from its origins through the mid-thirties, is indicative. "The communists were the first to sound the alarm about the danger of fascism, the first to rise to fight it, and its first victims," it was emphasized in M.S. Gorbachev's report devoted to the Great October's 70th anniversary.

Let us recall V.I. Lenin's attitude to fascism, which was just being born in the twenties. On 1 November 1922, a group of fascists armed with revolvers and bombs raided the trade department of the RSFSR mission in Italy. They captured an Italian working at the mission and viciously beat him up.

On learning this, Vladimir Ilich wrote a note to the people's commissar for foreign affairs: "Comrade Chicherin! Perhaps we should kick at Mussolini and have **everyone** (Vorovskiy and the entire delegation) **leave Italy**, starting to **attack** it over its fascists?

"Let us stage an international demonstration.

"There is a convenient pretext: You have beaten up our men, you are barbarians, **worse than** the Black Hundreds **in Russia in 1905**, and so on and so on.

"I think we should do this.

"Let us seriously help the Italian people. Yours, Lenin."

This was a long time before fascism really raged over Europe. Books by the great humanists were not yet being burned in the squares of German cities. The death camps, where dissidents in their thousands were to be exterminated by cruel methods, were yet to appear.... Even in the early forties people would not believe this could happen.

It is remarkable that, even during V.I. Lenin's lifetime, in his report to the 12th Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) [RCP(B)] Congress, N.I. Bukharin analyzed in depth the essence of fascism in Italy and noted that the spread of fascism is the result of a process of socioeconomic offensive by the bourgeoisie which "needs some sort of instrument, an extraordinary tool which will act as an additional fist striking the working class from behind." Nikolay Ivanovich criticized those Italian Communist Party leaders who failed to display sufficient energy and flexibility in uniting with the left-wing socialists. The consequences of this inflexibility are well known. Mussolini skillfully exploited differences among the workers. Bukharin proved in his report that shoots of fascism were breaking through in different countries—France and Belgium, Sweden and Greece, the United States and Japan. Moreover, he noted, particular attention must be given in Germany to the Bavarian organization of "national socialists" headed by Hitler (and this prevision was expressed 18 months before the "beer hall putsch" in Munich and many years before the publication of "Mein Kampf.")

But on 15 January 1924 (6 days before the death of the incurably ill Lenin) I.V. Stalin declared at a plenum of the RCP(B) Central Committee that "recently there has been a redeployment of forces, a redeployment of petit bourgeois social democratic forces to the side of the counterrevolution, to the camp of fascism. The conclusion is: No coalition with social democracy, but battle to the death against it, as the mainstay of the present fascist-oriented power." And all this—in contradiction to Lenin! That was a gross political and tactical mistake.

In his subsequent statement I.V. Stalin undeviatingly adhered to the view that fascism and social democracy were identical. Thus, he not only artificially brought social democracy down to the level of fascism, but also and equally whitewashed fascism by equating it with social democracy.

Years later I.V. Stalin was to start leveling accusations of right-wing deviationism against communists, both Soviet and foreign, who would refuse to accept that the main enemy were the left-wing social democrats whose views were the closest to those of the communists.

For example, in his speech "On Right-Wing Deviations Within the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks)" delivered at the April 1929 plenum, I.V. Stalin perceived N.I. Bukharin's main guilt in his refusal to "give greater urgency to the question of struggle against the so-called 'left wing' of social democracy."

Fascism was spreading like bushfire in many countries, but the workers in plants and poor people's residential districts—the only force capable of blocking the way to the terrible danger—were engaged in furious polemics among themselves about who was more dangerous in reality—the "left-wing" social fascists or the "champions of totalitarianism," the communists....

It is interesting to compare the assessments of fascism made by I.V. Stalin and N.I. Bukharin in their reports to the 17th All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks) Congress in January-February 1934. In his congress report, I.V. Stalin emphasized that for the Soviet Union it was unimportant in what form the bourgeoisie exercised its domination in various countries, including Germany—"this is not a question of fascism, if only because fascism in, for example, Italy did not prevent the USSR from establishing the best of relations with that country." For, Stalin pointed out, no matter which state launched a war against the Soviet Union, "it would be most dangerous for the bourgeoisie," especially because the war would be fought not only on the fronts but also in the enemy's rear."

"Let the bourgeoisie have no doubts," Stalin proclaimed, "that the numerous friends of the USSR working class in Europe and Asia will try to deal a blow to the back of their oppressors, who have conceived a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class from all countries. And don't let any bourgeois gentlemen reproach us if, on the second day of such a war, they discover that several of their associate governments, now prosperously reigning by 'God's grace,' are missing. (Thunderous applause)." Our people paid the price of so much grief and blood for these delusions of Stalin's!

In contrast, Bukharin's speech described German fascism and Japanese militarism as the main enemies, posing a deadly threat to the Soviet Union. "At present, there are two bridgeheads for counterrevolutionary attack aimed against us: fascist Germany and imperial Japan," Bukharin said, by that time crushed and stripped of all main offices, but not blinded by Stalin's "revelations of genius." He analyzed the booklets providing the theoretical basis of National Socialism—Hitler's "Mein Kampf" and Rosenberg's "The Future Path of German Foreign Policy." And, contrary to the general secretary's stance, he still emphasized in his speech that Hitler was openly calling for the crushing of our state, "openly talking about gaining by the sword territory supposedly needed by the German people from lands belonging to our Soviet Union."

Bukharin perceived (and not only perceived—he openly spoke about) the fact that only a rallying of all antifascist forces could respond to "the exceptionally brazen predatory policy, formulated by Hitler in his desire to squeeze us into Siberia and formulated by the Japanese imperialists in their desire to squeeze us out of Siberia, with the result that it would probably become necessary to fit our Union's entire population of 160 million inside one of Magnitka's blast furnaces." Unfortunately, this view of N.I. Bukharin's, sounding today like a visionary foresight, failed to gain support at the time.

Despite all this, the reader may ask, why do Lenin's works contain so many critical remarks about Bukharin? In my view, this is partly attributable to the fact that Vladimir Ilich valued the opportunity of crossing swords in creative discussions with a major original thinker and party theoretician. For example, when expanding on the question of state capitalism in the political report of the RCP(B) Central Committee to the 11th party congress in 1922, Vladimir Ilich remarked: "It is a pity that Comrade Bukharin is not at the congress; I would have like to have had a bit of an argument with him, but I'd better postpone it until the next congress." But Vladimir Ilich was no longer able to attend the next congress....

No honest person could remain unmoved by the end of N.I. Bukharin's life.

The trial of "the gang of Trotskiyite-Bukharinite spies, assassins, wreckers, and saboteurs caught redhanded"—as PRAVDA wrote in an editorial on the day—opened 2 March 1938.

On the next day the newspaper published its first courtroom reportage, "A Pack of Bloody Dogs." It devoted two paragraphs to Bukharin: "Bukharin sits there with

his head bowed low, a perfidious, two-faced, whimpering, and evil nonentity who has been exposed. The mask was torn off the face of Bukharin and his accomplices a long time ago, their true face was exposed a long time ago—kulak agents, advocates of the bourgeoisie, and servants of the restoration of capitalism in our country.

"Now, at the last stage, on the last rung the political schemer and rogue has been exposed as leader of a gang of spies, terrorists, and thieves, as instigator of assassination attempts against three of our people's best men, three makers of the socialist state—Lenin, Stalin, and Sverdlov. This is he, this vile little Bukharin!"

At the trial itself, Chief Prosecutor Vyshinskiy was to discover even more pejorative adjectives to apply to Bukharin, accusing him of all possible mortal sins—from organizing Fanny Kaplan's attempt on Lenin's life to concluding secret agreements with aggressive circles from Germany, Japan, and Britain providing for the dismembering of the USSR and the detachment of the Ukraine, Belorussia, and the Maritime region from the Land of the Soviets.

Bukharin's name was first among the accused at the last public trial in 1938. It is the moral duty of scientists and writers to tell the whole truth about him and about all the other Communists who faced those trials.

Press Tasks in Restructuring Viewed

PM051453 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 88 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Words Leading To Actions. The Press at the New Stage of Restructuring"]

[Text] Every day you open fresh editions of newspapers, you switch on the radio or the television, and a varied picture of the life of the country and the whole world enters your home.

Today we cannot imagine our working days and holidays without the press. Not only does it bring us information from all continents about events which have taken place, but it also helps us to understand these events and take up a definite position with regard to them. The press has become an effective means of making radical social transformations in our country.

Journalists' work in the first phase of restructuring received a high party assessment. But time goes on, and what was satisfactory yesterday and brought in the desired return now needs renewal and considerable improvement.

The press, M.S. Gorbachev said, is called upon above all to facilitate the processes of democratization and promote questions associated with the assimilation of economic reform. It has been pointed out that journalists are still covering both problems poorly. The individual good articles which are emerging are not, so to speak, bearing fruit. They are patently insufficient. The role of the press in party ideological and political education work and in society's spiritual life must be stepped up. It has a duty to vividly reveal and do its utmost to affirm our moral values and our socialist principles. It is essentially a matter of maintaining all press work at a high level.

As at the first stage of restructuring, the mass media must be in the front lines and must promote the resolution of new tasks. This needs more competent, profound, analytical materials. People will not accept a superficial description or a patronizing tone. They expect from newspapers, journals, radio, and television serious reflection, intense thought, clashes between various approaches, and the indication of everything valuable accumulated in the practical work of restructuring. The ability or the lack of it to work in a new way, the desire or lack of it to restructure—these are subjects awaiting profound analysis.

The task set at the new stage is for the press to get a second wind. It is necessary to move on and not become bogged down at yesterday's positions. With preparation it will be impossible to take up the topic of democratization together with the problems of cardinal economic reform. The introduction of full economic accountability [khozraschet] is a complex process which demands broad knowledge from the journalist. That is why constant training must be organized for press workers.

Restructuring is multifaceted, and that is precisely how it must be reported in the mass media. However, there are priority problems. One of the first of these is the leading role of party organizations at the present stage, at the threshold of the preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, at a time when reports are coming in from elective organs. All the threads of restructuring come together in party committees and primary party organizations and the most difficult burden of work rests on their shoulders. How are they coping with it? In various ways. Two raykoms or obkoms operating side by side under equal conditions can have quite different results. It is the press' direct task to uncover the reasons for this by means of comparative analysis.

The work of the primary party organizations, which are expected to be the political nucleus, the generator of restructuring in labor collectives, demands great attention from the press. It is no secret that many of them are acting sluggishly at the moment, evading the resolution of key questions, preferring not to interfere in complex situations, and living in the old way. The press can do a great deal to draw them out of such a lethargic state and ultimately vanquish social apathy and indifference.

The main heroes of our press, radio, and television are those whom we call the engineers of restructuring. Workers, kolkhoz members, doctors, teachers, enterprise directors, and party raykom secretaries, they are the best working people, the pace-setters in their collectives. Of

course, it means a great deal to say a good word about such people. But is this enough? It is important not only to praise a man but also to show how specifically he achieved the results for which he is being praised and his work experience, which could be instructive for other people.

Letters from readers and viewers are of indisputable support in this. The editorial mailbag holds not only extensive information but also a tremendous collection of thought. It is unwise to begrudge the space in newspapers and in radio and television programs devoted to it. The broader the range of discussion and the more controversial clashes of opinion there are around questions which stir people, the more interesting they will be.

Criticism helps to forge a path to innovation. It played a great role in the first stage of restructuring. However, we do not intend to reduce its pitch even now. It is only a question of criticism being even more constructive, principled, and well-founded. The question of how criticism and glasnost are perceived must also be borne in mind. There are some people who have seemingly developed a definite immunity to them. For instance, critical comments are acknowledged but practically nothing is done at local level to correct the situation and eradicate the shortcomings. The suppressors of criticism have also become more refined. They must be dealt a fitting rebuff.

The party does not intend to deviate from the course of glasnost. This is a firm line. The Central Committee supports journalists and defends them from unfounded accusations. However, exactingness toward press workers is also growing. Insufficient responsibility, unscrupulousness, and poor competence—this all discredits the authority of the mass media in the eyes of people. Moreover, it effectively strikes at glasnost and restructuring, which is, of course, absolutely inadmissible.

Today Lenin's idea that the press is part of a partywide, nationwide cause is gaining special significance. A great deal depends on its leadership by party committees at local level. In those places where leadership has been skillfully established and where close daily contacts between party workers and journalists have been organized, good results are also to be found. This may be said, for example, about the leadership of their newspapers by the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, and the Kemerovo, Volgograd, and Belgorod party obkoms.

But there are also other elements. V. Kinelev, editor of ALTAYSKAYA PRAVDA, and P. Zamyatin, editor of KRASNOYARSKIY RABOCHIY, have recently been removed from their posts and strictly punished for flagrant violations of moral norms and serious shortcomings in their work. As the saying goes, they did not sink so low overnight. The deterioration of the newspapers' content and the moral decline of their leaders took place in full view of party kraykoms and the editorial office's primary party organizations. However, the necessary measures were not adopted in a timely fashion.

Our press lives for the concerns of the party and those of the whole country. In the foreground now are the successful completion of the year in the economy and the social sphere and the well-organized preparation of collectives for the transition as of 1 January to full economic accountability. This matter is exceptionally crucial. All the most militant means of journalism must be brought into play in order to promote more vigorously the sure establishment of the new methods of economic activity.

The press was always the party's faithful assistant. Today its words must satisfy the requirements of the large-scale tasks of the second, decisive stage of restructuring.

Galvanization of Role of Theater Urged

PM271901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Dec 87 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Kirill Lavrov, People's Artist of the USSR and chairman of the Board of the USSR Union of Theater Workers, under the rubric "The Artist and the Times": "So What Can We Do?"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Now, after the 27th party congress and the party Central Committee plenums of recent years, it is well known what a harmful effect the so-called "residual" principle of financing the sociocultural sphere had not only on culture but on our entire socialist building. A consequence of the indifference to the real life of our toilers was the increase in social apathy, the various social ills of society, and the decline in labor productivity. But this "residual" principle migrated to the thinking of leading cadres, and many officials at the soviet, party, and economic levels.

This is incompetence elevated even to a matter of pride. This is the locally persisting administrative-edict style in the leadership of art, theaters included, when ignorance and primitive taste posing as "party opinion" call the tune, when caprice and the ambitions of one leading figure or another lead to an avalanche of bans—for many people responsible for culture simply do not know any other way. For such officials—and, I repeat, there is still a huge number of them—the very emergence of a new creative union as an organ of theater self-management is a sharp knife, and frequently at times some kind of temporary "game" which, they hope, is just coming to an end.

We are easily and quickly finding a common language in our party's leading organs. We are feeling for contacts with the leadership of the Ministry of Culture—and a whole range of mutual prejudices has been erased. But in places a great deal remains the same as before.

In addition, it should be said that various departments (I shall not list them here) are inclined to interpret one or other of our rights and privileges as infringing, reducing, or curtailing their rights. When I run into this practice I automatically think: How many people we still have who are indifferent to culture and see no further than their own desk. And how many of them are still "directing" precisely art.

Another, no less powerful "mechanism" is our own apathy toward public affairs, the deeply rooted disbelief that the public is capable of achieving anything. Finally, it is the activity which goes on only around oneself. Recently, when I attended the plenum of the board of one of the republic unions, I was struck by the atmosphere of petty squabbling, the struggle for a role, for a position in the troupe which had developed there. Alas, there are not so many public figures among us, in the Union of Theater Workers. Furthermore, the paradox is that the generation which rushed into social renewal after the 20th party congress has today turned out to be the most energetic, the most believing in restructuring and its ideals—more so than the generations of the seventies and beginning of the eighties. If we ourselves do not take our fate, the fate of the Soviet theater, into our own hands but, as before, wait for changes "from above," perceiving our creative union as yet one more rung on the ladder, nothing will happen.

All the same, to the question "What has changed?" I reply: "A lot!" The atmosphere itself, the intonation of theater life, so to speak, has changed. A clear stimulation of theater ties between republics has taken place. The all-union creative meeting "The Theater and the Times" is now coming to an end. More than 100 performances and thousands of theater workers have taken part in it in one way or another. Hundreds of spectators and practically all the main forces of theater criticism, including the young, took part in the debates and symposiums. For the first time a demonstration of musical theaters was held. The USSR Union of Theater Workers and the republic unions—first and foremost those of Russia, Georgia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, and Belorussia—together with the ministries of culture proved able to carry out this huge work. We regarded it as a distinctive stocktaking of our creative economy; we wanted to shake up and agitate the theatrical world, since the social and psychological foundations of our art have in them an element of festivity. Within the framework of this meeting in Moscow the Theater of the Peoples' Friendship was opened. A number of plays staged there enjoyed enormous success. The blood circulation quickened! New and outstanding phenomena emerged. The performance of the role of King Oedipus by the actor Khashiv Godoyev from Dushanbe, for example, was a revelation; a theater from Yakutsk continues to win the hearts of the all-union spectators; and the "School of Dramatic Art" theater under the leadership of Anatoliy Vasilev is receiving international recognition... Our duty is to recreate the structure of the theater mechanism so that it reacts quickly, without bureaucratic delays, to the sudden (it is always sudden!) emergence of outstanding talent!

The day will soon come when the experiment being conducted in the system of management and self-management will end. A large and representative conference in Rostov has just ended where the progress of the experiment was examined in detail and recommendations prepared for carrying out theater reforms in the near future. A statute on the state theater enterprise ("On the State Theater") will be adopted. Our opportunities for progress and renewal are expanding more widely. But if we are passive, these opportunities will remain only opportunities. Therefore to the question: "What can we do?" I reply: "We can do a lot, if not everything!" And tranquillity, as our national genius Tolstoy said, is "spiritual baseness."

Paris Paper Interviews OGONEK Editor Korotich

PM061254 Paris LIBERATION in French 11 Dec 87 p 20

[Interview with OGONEK editor Vitaliy Korotich by Pierre Briancon in Washington—date not given]

[Text] LIBERATION: From your viewpoint, how useful was Gorbachev's visit to Washington?

Vitaliy Korotich: I like the practical approach which contrasts with the period of empty words and great dreams of victory or defeat. I think it is a good thing for the two leaders to see each other frequently and talk, and, above all, I think that disarmament is a great opportunity for the policy of reform in the USSR.

LIBERATION: Why?

Vitaliy Korotich: It is impossible to disarm in a closed, secret society. Disarmament goes hand in hand with opening up the country.

LIBERATION: Why?

Vitaliy Korotich: Simply because there can be no disarmament without verification. Agreeing to submit to a foreign inspection is itself a sign of openness and leads to others. In addition, disarmament helps us to look at problems in terms of the whole of mankind, and people do not think in such a narrow way.

LIBERATION: According to some analysts, Gorbachev needed success here for domestic reasons, because glasnost has not yet produced any very practical results....

Vitaliy Korotich: There is no doubt that living standards will now become the main criterion. We must start with the economy, on which everything else depends. It is impossible to develop free thinking in one sphere and to close doors in other spheres of thought. Once people start to think they will not stop. We need people who think in a broader way. Things are obviously changing, look at

public statements: Brezhnev always said we, we the people, we the masses. Gorbachev says I. Democracy will be the individual's fight against the colorless mass, the morass, the faceless we. It will be impossible to have a free economy while continuing to ban books.

LIBERATION: Yet, some books are still banned.

Vitaliy Korotich: Yes, but things have started to change. For instance, a new press law makes chief editors responsible for what is published in their newspaper, and not the censors, as was previously the case. Before this law, there were numerous newspaper editors who complained about censorship from a position which was, after all, comfortable for them. Since the law was passed, there seem to be five times fewer liberals among those working in the press....

LIBERATION: But, you cannot publish everything you wish to publish....

Vitaliy Korotich: I only request prior permission on two subjects: military questions and trials—I must ensure that trials have ended and that the verdict has been passed; in addition, there are some issues to which the category of classified information can be applied, like space questions. Indeed, there is a great deal of room to maneuver, and many opportunities to play the system a little.

LIBERATION: Do you feel that Gorbachev's power has been strengthened following recent events, like the Yeltsin affair?

Vitaliy Korotich: I think so. There are obviously several pockets of resistance. There are those who live on welfare payments, who are happy to receive a few rubles each month to avoid working. There are chauvinistic, nationalist groups. My impression is that a large section of middle-ranking bureaucrats falls into this category. Finally, there are more or less two groups: There are those who think that it would be possible to live and survive in a democracy, and there are those who dream of the old days, who think that democracy would mean chaos. You know, when we published some banned and dead writers, there was an article in PRAVDA describing us as necrophiles.... You can see that it is not an easy struggle.

LIBERATION: What about living authors who are still banned?

Vitaliy Korotich: I will tell you something. The difference between us and the Western world is that we have lived with a policy of lies for years. When somebody makes a proposal, there is a tendency to demand immediate action. But would a Western politician have any credibility if he promised everything immediately? With regard to writers, I have decided to publish Brodskiy, but I did not make my decision blindly: I asked to read his poems first. To give another example, I do not like the idea of Solzhenitsyn telling me what to do from abroad, and I do not want to receive English editions of his books. Let him come back here and fight at my side or perhaps even against me.

Brezhnev Placenames To Revert To Former Names

LD061433 Moscow TASS in English 1406 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] Mowcow January 6 TASS—The CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government have backed the population's proposals for reinstating the names of the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny, Cheryomushki District in Moscow and Krasnogvardeiskaya (Red Guard) Square in Leningrad and dropping the name of Brezhnev Square in Moscow.

Corresponding articles of the November 18, 1982 resolution of the CPSU Central Committee, the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Council of Ministers in part related to the renaming of the city of Naberezhnyye Chelny, Cheryomushki District in Moscow, the square in Leningrad and the name of a new square in Moscow have been revoked.

Briefs

Kharkov TV Relay Station

People living in the four rayons near the town of Izyum in Kharkov Oblast are now able to obtain stable reception of TV broadcasts on the second all-union program. A powerful relay station has started to operate there. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Jan 87 LD*]

Alma-Ata Student Newspaper

Orken—GORIZONT is the title of a new city student newspaper, the first edition of which has come out in the capital city of Kazakhstan. It is printed in Russian and Kazakh and will come out three times a week. This new youth organ intends to devote a lot of attention to discussing the most urgent and acute problems of restructuring in student life. [Text] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Jan 88 LD*]

Economic

Central Committee Decision on Consumer Goods

LD241816 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 24 Nov 87

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the issue of the creation and work of cooperatives in the public catering and services sphere for the population, the manufacture of consumer goods, and the procurement and processing of secondary raw materials.

The decision that has been adopted on that issue notes that in fulfillment of decisions by the party and the government, party, administrative, and economic bodies have implemented the work on developing cooperative forms of activities. As of 1 October 1987, 8,000 cooperatives were created in the country employing a total of more than 88,000 people. They accounted for R134 million worth of manufactured consumer goods and services for the population.

At the same time, the decision points out that the existing potential for the development of cooperative forms of work are not being fully used. The contribution of cooperatives to the task of providing the population with goods and services is still insignificant. They are spreading throughout the country's territory in an extremely uneven way and they develop especially slowly in rural areas. Individual local administrative and economic bodies display inertia and an absence of initiative, being prejudiced against the very idea of setting up cooperatives.

The CPSU Central Committee has made it encumbent upon the central committees of the communist parties and the councils of ministers of the union republics, krayispolkoms, and oblispolkoms, and local administrative and economic bodies, to take resolute measures to ensure the further development of cooperative forms of activity, and to increase their contribution toward boosting marketing resources and services in each rayon in accordance with the demands of the CPSU Central Committee June 1987 Plenum.

CPSU Recommends Emulating Joint Enterprises

PM051715 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Jan 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has examined the question "On the Experience of Cooperation at the 'Erdenet' Joint Soviet-Mongolian Enterprise and the 'Robot' International Science and Production Association and the Prospects for Developing it."

A resolution adopted on this question notes that the course elaborated by the 27th CPSU Congress of improving and enriching economic cooperation with fraternal socialist countries as much as possible is being implemented. The "Erdenet" joint Soviet-Mongolian mining and dressing enterprise has accumulated experience of cooperation in this context. This enterprise is now a world leader in terms of technical standards and production volumes, and its activity is promoting the acceleration of both countries' socioeconomic development and making a weighty contribution to the further consolidation of the friendship, cooperation, and political unity between the Soviet and Mongolian peoples. It is very important that close cooperation between CPSU and MPRP party organizations and national trade union and youth organizations is developing successfully here.

At the same time the practical management work at this enterprise on questions of planning production and marketing, making rational use of the profits received, and a number of other technical and economic indicators needs further improvement and mutual enrichment in light of modern demands.

The experience of the Soviet-Czechoslovak "Robot" Association indicates the possibilities for broad cooperation in using socialist countries' scientific production potential to resolve priority tasks of technical progress in industry. International pooling of forces, the joint creation of comprehensive automated production units, and the provision of services in the preliminary stages is an extremely topical and promising avenue for socialist integration and deserves all possible support and development.

Then it is necessary, however, to accelerate the development of this association as an independent, economically accountable [khozraschetnyy] organization, to speed up and expand its speedier and fuller provision with the necessary funds for automated design and office equipment, and to create a skilled experimental base.

USSR ministries and departments have been commissioned to resolve questions associated with the further development and improvement of joint enterprises' activity and with the implementation of measures designed to make more complete and more efficient use of this progressive and promising form of cooperation, taking into consideration the experience accumulated by the "Erdenet" enterprise's and the "Robot" association's international collectives. Attention was drawn to the need to boost independence in joint enterprises' activity in close linkage with the principles of full economic accountability and self-financing. It has been deemed expedient to galvanize the work of the "Robot" International Science and Production Association in the sphere of foreign economic ties in accordance with the demands for the improvement of activity in this direction under the new conditions of economic activity.

The appropriate ministries and departments have been entrusted with fully staffing the "Robot" International Science and Production Association with highly skilled specialists, boosting the standard of training for workers assigned to the "Erdenet" enterprise, and ensuring the unfailing commissioning of production capacities at this enterprise in 1989, and also with adopting measures to resolve a number of social questions.

TASS, PRAVDA on State Acceptance's First Year

LD291501 Moscow TASS in English 1438 GMT 29 Dec 87

[Text] Moscow December 29 TASS—BY TASS commentator Boris Grishchenko:

It is a year since government monitors took over output inspection at 1,500 Soviet factories in a move designed to tighten control over product quality.

The state quality control service, which has decisive say in grading any item of production, is independent of the factories' management and its verdict cannot be challenged even by a minister.

It has been prompted into life by the need to improve the technical standards and consumer appeal of Soviet manufactures drastically and quickly.

And some positive results have indeed been achieved. For example, the service life of tractors built by a works in the Ukrainian city of Kharkov, one of the largest Soviet facilities of this kind, has grown by an average 2,000 hours.

This is tantamount to having produced an extra 20,000 such machines a year.

However, the top prioity given to quality has demanded much more concentration, assiduity and discipline on the part of every worker.

Part of the personnel in the engineering sector, who have got used over the years to the quantity-before-everything-else attitudes, have seen their wages drop. Tougher demands on quality have made for an increase in time-consuming operations.

This is why some workers have left the factories covered by the new system for where state quality control is not yet in place.

Factory managers and economic executives have not been greeting the new arrangements without reservations either as these have meant added work and concern for them. Some are even still attempting to dismantle them by their own authority.

But it should be said also that many factories have been able to see and appreciate the benefits of the new quality control service one of whose missions is to help remove the causes behind substandard production.

Recommendations by quality inspectors, for example, are heeded to rearrange the order of priorities in modernization schemes, update designs and streamline production processes without delay.

The year the state quality control service has been around has revealed a number of bottlenecks. One is the poor quality of starting materials and accessories supplied by factories outside the new system. This is why the latter is to be extended from the start of 1988 to over 700 more industrial operations, mostly suppliers of raw and other materials.

The quality controls will thus cover the entire cycle from the production of raw materials to component making to assembly operations.

Besides, the state quality control service next year will spread to a number of food making facilities and to the construction sector, including the 18 major Soviet integrated home building factories.

'Year Has Dispelled Doubts'

PM041535 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "State Acceptance: A Year Later. Enhancing Production Efficiency Through Testing Output Quality"]

[Text] State acceptance, a product of restructuring, has now become an accepted concept in our deliberations about output quality and ways to improve it. Yet it was only a year ago that it was introduced at 1,500 or so industrial enterprises. This is a relatively short time, but the scale of its "impact" is considerable: Approximately one-fifth of the most important and sophisticated output of various sectors is subjected to state acceptance checks.

The past year has dispelled the doubts and distrust of many people who were originally hostile to state acceptance and described it as "ruinous." It has forced enterprise collectives to pay detailed attention to quality control regardless of whether it is a question of machine tools, equipment, or consumer goods. Many collectives, surmounting difficulties and conflicts, have managed, thanks to state acceptance, to achieve appreciable qualitative improvements in their work. Leningrad electrical equipment builders, Moscow clothes manufacturers, Novolipetsk petrochemical industry workers, and Kiev shoemakers have reduced the quantity of rejects and many of them have stopped receiving claims for replacements. In the country as a whole in 1987 the state acceptance service has prevented around R6 billion-worth of substandard output from reaching the consumer.

The state acceptance system has raised the prestige of the conscientious workmanship and genuine skill of many thousands of workers and specialists to a new level and become a test of their professional and civic maturity. At the same time, state acceptance has given a powerful impetus to the enhancement of the technical standard of goods, the updating of the state standards, and the reinforcement of technological and labor discipline. The state acceptance service has also contributed to the improvement of the moral climate within collectives where the champions of the struggle for the honor of a plant's trademark sometimes failed to find support from colleagues who had gotten used to working in a slovenly way, or an enterprise management seeking to fulfill the plan at any price, including the price of low output quality. It is no accident that managers who lack initiative are now trying to explain their failure to fulfill plans and economic contracts by blaming the rigorous criteria

applied by the state acceptance service. Nonetheless, the workers of this service, having won quite a few supporters in the course of the past year, are gradually increasing their number.

As from 1988 state acceptance is expanding the radius of its activity. Experience has revealed that not all problems concerning output quality can be resolved at the final stage of the manufacturing process. Therefore additional state acceptance services are being set up at over 300 enterprises which have close contacts with collectives already working in these conditions. This innovation will make it possible to make state acceptance more comprehensive, to involve the basic chain of allied enterprises on whom the quality of the end product largely depends. This time state acceptance will also be introduced at agro-industrial complex processing enterprises. A new sphere of its activity will be provided by 72 enterprises of the construction industry. This will make it possible to improve the quality of housing and other social sphere projects in 20 cities—oblast and republic centers. A total of 732 new state acceptance services will be established in the coming year.

Naturally, state acceptance cannot yet encompass all enterprises and sectors. Incidentally, this is not even the aim yet. Practical experience accumulated this year and the plans for the coming year show that state acceptance helps to enhance technological discipline and order in production. This, furthermore, is one of the new and important means of creating the organizational and technical conditions for a bigger share of the world market for Soviet goods.

Enterprises' switch to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing will lead to a powerful acceleration of economic development and, in particular, the enhancement of output quality. The USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) comes into force with the new year; this considerably expands the independence of labor collectives and enhances their economic responsiblity for output quality. Only a collective which is capable of producing high-grade goods can expect them to sell successfully and bring in a high profit. That means economic levers for the improvement of output quality and the enhancement of the output's technical standard and ability to compete in world markets assume prime importance.

The new concept of the development of the Soviet economy which is now becoming practice will naturally make its mark also on the future work of state acceptance services. Questions of its effectiveness will have to be even more closely connected with the specific features of full economic accountability [khozraschet]. Above all, it will be necessary to select methods which, while minimizing the risk of obvious temporary losses through rejects, will ultimately ensure the maximum economic advantage for both the enterprise and the state. As a rule, statewide interests are put first and foremost. Furthermore, their role is intensifying. This is quite logical since in conditions of economic independence enterprises' collective economic interests, in turn, grow appreciably stronger.

In conditions of the new stage of restructuring the state acceptance service, just as the USSR State Committee for Standards as a whole, is called upon to pay closer attention to the original sources of quality. For instance, putting a defect right at an early stage can be tens, sometimes thousands, of times cheaper than putting it right at the final stage of the manufacturing process. However, cheaper does not necessarily mean simpler. Prevention or early detection of defects calls for a high level of engineering competence and a sophisticated scientific methodology of the organization of defect-free production and its monitoring.

At the Kaluga radio tube plant, for instance, quality-control operations have become part and parcel of automated production systems. "Electronic controllers" are most tireless and strict: They will not permit rejects to reach the warehouse—they remove them from the production line, determining accurately how they occurred and through whose fault. State acceptance services which take an active part in the elaboration of design and production documentation and all kinds of tests of new products earmarked for series production are acting correctly. This is precisely the practical implementation of the idea of deriving maximum effect from expenditure on improving output quality and technology reliability. Economic accountability will intensify the need for this kind of prophylactic work on the part of state acceptance in the coming and subsequent years.

That means that while remaining a "roadblock" in the path of substandard output, state acceptance is becoming an effective assistant of enterprise collectives in their struggle for a higher technical standard of output and high-quality workmanship. This assistance is much needed. In conditions of economic accountability labor collectives will have to learn to understand and assess from new economic positions the importance of the unity of organizational-technical demands and services of state acceptance and also the market preferences of partners and clients. In these very condit. ns state acceptance acts an ally of both the producer and the client.

To make fuller use of the new potential for enhancing output quality—which, let us admit it, is still low on the whole—local party, soviet, and trade union organs must objectively analyze the work experience of state acceptance services and render them practical assistance both in organizational-technical and purely mundane questions. A sober, principled approach to the problems of quality will provide one of the guarantees of success in the implementation of the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the state orders and contract commitments of the 3d year of the 5-year plan.

Aganbegyan Refutes West's Economic Forecasts
LD051024 Moscow World Service in English
0800 GMT 5 Jan 88

[Text] A prominent Soviet economist, Dr Abel Aganbegyan, has refuted allegations in the Western media that the Soviet Union will have to give up a number of its social gains in exchange for an increase in its economic effectiveness to be reached in the course of perestroyka [restructuring]. We categorically disapprove those who predict for us unemployment, inflation, mass closure of plants, and other misfortunes, he declared. [sentence as heard] Nothing of this kind will happen, Dr Aganbegyan stressed. All our problems will be successfully resolved within the framework of perestroyka, whose goal is to step up the country's economic and social progress.

Azerbaijan Committee Discusses Economic Reform
NC051209 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri
1700 GMT 30 Dec 87

[Text] The application of the (?principle of economic mnagement in all areas of production) is an important measure aimed at realizing the main economic reforms in (?the Soviet Union).

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee has held a meeting to discuss the outcome of preparations that have been made in the republic's industrial domain to apply the principle of economic management. The priority tasks of the establishments in the realization of this principle were also discussed at the meeting. Leading officials of the ministries, administrations, unions, and establishments, the gorkom and raykom secretaries, the party committee secretaries, and the soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs representatives participated in the meeting. Ziyad Samedzade, the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee Economic Department chief, read a report.

Dadashova, deputy director of the Baku [word indistinct] Union; (?Klishova), deputy director of the Azerbaijan Petroleum (?industry) Union; Karayev, minister of finance; Gadzhimamedova, secretary of the Al-Bayramly City Party Committee; Mamedova, deputy chairman of the board of the Azerbaijan branch of the USSR Industrial Bank; Ismailov, chief of the Baku [words indistinct] Union; and [name and title indistinct] briefed the meeting. Kyamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, addressed the assembly.

The meeting noted that the unions and establishments have acquired a certain amount of experience by working under new economic conditions in the republic. An experimental program has been in effect in various parts of the engineering industry sector since 1984. Separate methods have been worked out for the planning and the economic [word indistinct] systems in accordance with the experimental program. Seventy-one establishments and unions are currently working in the republic in accordance with the concept of economic management and the principle of (?self-sufficiency). The experiment has proved that the volume of their production icreased by 4 percent in 11 months. This means that their work output has increased by 6 percent.

The establishments which have applied the principle of economic management have made a profit of over 250 million rubles. The amount they owe to producers and banks has decreased. Meanwhile, the technical level of production has been upgraded and the quality of the products has improved.

There have been a number of mistakes and (?deficiencies) in the planning work, however, which those unions and establishments that were the first to adopt the principle of economic management have done at factory level to organize technical supply, train cadres, and resolve social problems. Many of these establishments have failed to produce their manufactured products according to the rules and regulations. Nor have they succeeded in fulfilling their [word indistinct] plans and obligations concerning the question of production costs. [passage indistinct]

All this is due to the fact that regardless of the new economic management conditions several establishments continue to use old methods and refrain from controlling the application of economic measures. Furthermore, they continue to allow funds to be wasted on unproductive work. The economic methods required for managing production have not been adopted as the main methods.

The number of the unions and establishments working in accordance with the principle of economic management in 1988 will rise to 236. This figure is more than 35% of the overall number of the republic's establishments. The volume of their production will be more than 60% of the general volume of industrial production in the republic.

The participants who addressed the meeting suggested that the collectives that will start to work in accordance with the new conditions must acquaint themselves with the new principle by using the experience of the collectives which already use the new rules and regulations. The mistakes that have been made must be taken into consideration to avoid their recurrence.

The work that has been carried out in the field has proved that the work collectives which are preparing to adopt the principle of economic management and (?self-sufficiency) have carried out a certain degree of economic, organizational, and political work. A number of measures have been drawn up to strengthen their financial situation. [passage indistinct] However, none of the establishments has acquainted itself with the importance of the effort made to resolve the existing problems. Many work collectives have not been [word indistinct] toward

the adoption of new economic methods. They have not attached importance to this matter. Such an approach will create many complex problems for the establishments.

The meeting also noted that the leading economic officials of the establishments and the party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations should take the urgent measures that are required for rectifying this situation at the very beginning of 1988.

Oktay Bagirov, Svetlana Kasumova, Ziya Yusif-Zade, Vasiliy Konovalov, Ramiz Mekhtiyev, Musa Mamedov, Fuad Musayev, Tel'man Orudzhev, Artur Rasi-zade, Lidiya Rasulova, Gasan Seidov, Gasan Gasanov, Rauf Akhundov, Sahib Alekperov, Shanlik Aliyev, and Nazim Mamedov participated in the work of the meeting.

Melnikov on Construction Industry's Growth

LD021739 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1010 GMT on 2 January carries a 25-minute program entitled "The Construction Complex in New Conditions of Economic Management" which consists of a live or record interview with Aleksandr Grigoryevich Melnikov, CPSU Central Committee Construction Department chief, by an unidentified correspondent.

He says that in the last 2 years capital construction has been brought out of the stagnation it had been in for a "lengthy" period, with a 14% increase in the volume of construction and assembly work over 1985. The putting into operation of fixed assets has risen about 13% over 1985, and in the social sphere—housing, schools, children's establishments, hospitals, out-patients' departments, houses of culture, and clubs—the rate of growth has been 30-60%. Growth in the last 2 years has been mainly achieved through an increase in labor productivity. The prime cost of construction and assembly work has been reduced, and builders have started to work "at a profit." The reinforcement of centralized management of capital construction, a substantial increase in the organizational role of the State Construction Committee and the placing of construction organizations under the jurisdiction of the councils of ministers of the union republics, leading to a considerable increase in responsibility and in the desire of local party and soviet bodies to organize the work well; all have had a "positive" impact.

Melnikov outlines some of the main aspects of the new economic mechanism which have been introduced. Through concentrating investments on a smaller number of construction sites the number of construction projects was reduced by about 12,000. By the end of 1987 the introduction of collective contracting in virtually all construction trusts of the union ministries, the "overwhelming majority" of trusts in the union republics, and over half the construction materials industry enterprises has had an "explosive" effect in increasing labor productivity, responsibility, and the quality of work.

"Of course," Melnikov adds, "a fundamental improvement in capital construction has not yet occurred. Many construction ministries and construction organizations are not fulfilling construction plans. A large number of capacities and projects have not been put into operation as a result of a number of circumstances and reasons. There are still loss-making trusts which fail to work at a profit. At many construction sites, on many projects, and in many organizations construction work is organized with great losses; there is much mismanagement, low quality of work is in evidence, and the rate of commissioning of residential and social facilities and production capacities is uneven. Altogether, the shortcomings which have been indicated repeatedly by the party's Central Committee and the government, and which were discussed at the party congress, persist. Now that we have entered the New Year of 1988 these shortcomings will of course considerably complicate the fulfillment of the exceedingly strenuous plans and targets which builders have been set." The plan for construction work "substantially" exceeds the preliminary outlines in the 12th 5-Year Plan. In the New Year special attention will be paid to developing the production of cement and other materials, of which there is an "exceedingly great shortage" today, because of which many construction collectives experienced very serious shortcomings and difficulties last year. In 1988 active state acceptance of housing, social facilities, and a whole set of items produced by the construction materials industry and the construction industry will be introduced.

Noting that the introduction of self-financing, self-management, and self-recouping must not be allowed to place a "heavy burden on the shoulders of labor collectives," Melnikov says the industry has entered the new year with "very heavy baggage, both from your viewpoint of preparing for financing and from that of our strenuous plan." He says that in the switch to self-financing "we have begun to lag substantially in matters connected with the establishment of quotas for contributions to the production development funds and the social sphere." This is because the control figures of the 12th 5-Year Plan have to be adhered to simultaneously with the switch: "So this is where the difficulty of the whole matter lies. Many difficulties are emerging for the construction ministries and the construction organizations in this regard." State orders are today actually tying up all the capacities of construction organizations, and in a number of cases state orders even exceed these capacities. Moreover, this year's increased plan must essentially be met using the same resources as last year, and "for a whole set of main construction materials" with even fewer resources.

Melnikov says that all elements of the new economic mechanism must be brought into play in the second stage of restructuring in capital construction. He says the key to profits is saving of resources, and science must cooperate closely with industry. The primary party organizations have an important part to play in improving efficiency.

On the Far East and the BAM zone Melnikov says the region "requires attention and enormous efforts," and the program adopted by the Central Committee and Council of Ministers must be implemented "very quickly."

New Bank on 'Dishonest, Underground' Loans

PM301423 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Dec 87 Second Edition p 2

[L. Polyanskiy feature under the rubric "Call From the Editorial Office" incorporating response to reader's letter from USSR Workers' Savings and Credit Bank official: "If You Weigh Everything Up..."]

[Text] "I have heard that we have a sort of underground personal service: People who have lots of money lend it out at great rates of interest. Why does the state not assume this function, thus reaping benefits for itself and for the working people?"

(From a letter by V. Belyakova, Moscow)

I called the USSR Workers' Savings and Credit Bank. Credit Department chief G. Skobelkin answered the telephone.

"Comrade Belyakova's letter," German Ivanovich believes, "deserves attention. In fact some citizens often have an urgent need to have a certain sum of money in their hands for some needs. The question immediately arises: Where can I get it from and to whom can I turn? Dishonest people offer their services at this point. Exploiting the applicant's difficult position, they literally rob him, demanding high interest on the borrowed sum.

"I believe our recently created Workers' Savings and Credit Bank should help in such circumstances. We have already thought about such a form of service. It is not an easy matter. We are now studying the experience of our friends from socialist countries in this direction and are working on a number of other questions, after which we will make a decision."

Komi Timber Worker on Reemployment Problems

PM301604 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Dec 87 Second Edition p 1

[N. Poluyanov report under the rubric "Urgent Warning": "Papers or Controls?"]

[Text] Komi ASSR—Our timber procurement plant at the Mezenles Association is going over to the new economic management system, and this will entail personnel cuts, which, naturally, is not to everyone's liking. Some people are sent for and offered jobs elsewhere, with promotion. But who wants to leave well-appointed housing and go to a barrack-type housing block?

Of course, if there were as many offices and enterprises in our settlement as there are in Moscow, then doubtless there would be no difficulty. You transfer to another organization—and that's that. But here? An engineer can't go and be a watchman or a kindergarten nurse, even if there is a shortage of people. Although, if the apartment keeps someone here, why should he not go and do those jobs, only what good would come of it?

We do have the post office, the station, the forestry area, but they are all "full." Where can they go, the people who have been cut or are "subject" to cuts? If that is how it is, the first to leave will be those who are awkward, argumentative, who express their opinions. That is already happening.

Don't think I'm against restructuring, no, I am all in favor of it, M.S. Gorbachev brought it just in time. When they set up our joint Soviet-Bulgarian enterprise, however, they evidently did not think it through "up above" and they did not realize that in time there would be no need for two management offices, and therefore people would have to be found jobs. On the Bulgarian side it is easier to do that: You don't extend the contract—and that's that, the job is cut. But what can we do?

Yes, well-appointed housing keeps people here. Nearly everyone who has been working here for 10 years or more came from other timber procurement plants where there is no such housing, and they have set up home here.

Could we move from the office into production? Of course, an ax or the controls of a tractor are heavier than papers, but then the benefit from real work is greater, and a man has more pride: You're eating your own bread, not someone else's!

Briefs

TV Relay Transmitters

Thousands of residents in the remotest areas of Saratov Oblast and its adjacent areas in Kazakhstan, Kuybyshev, and Orenburg Oblasts were able to watch the New Year's Eve TV programs for the first time. In the settlements of Aleksandrov Gay and Perelyub relay transmitters have been built. They ensure reception within a 60-km radius. [Summary] [*Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0200 GMT 1 Jan 88 LD*]

Ukraine Special Banks

A network of special banks has been formed in the Ukraine, including the republic's state bank, agro-industrial bank, industrial construction bank and housing and social bank, and the USSR Savings Bank. Oblast directorates of these banks have been set up, with 955 branches in towns and rayons. They are providing a comprehensive credit and accounting service to enterprises, associations, and organizations and are offering finance and credit for capital investments. The aim of

such reform measures is to enhance the role of the banking system in the economy. [Summary] *[Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 3 Jan 88 LD]*

Cooperative Statistics

Moscow January 4 TASS—700 cooperatives were registered in Moscow by the beginning of 1988. Three hundred are already functioning. They manufacture products and render services. Moscow cooperators sold about one million roubles worth of goods last year through state-owned shops alone. The cooperative movement is just beginning in the USSR. A government decree on the creation of cooperatives was adopted less than a year ago. [Text] *[Moscow TASS in English 1249 GMT 4 Jan 88 LD]*

Scientific

Sanglok Observatory 'Laser' Story Refuted

PM051155 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Jan 88 Second Edition pp 1, 3

[Special correspondent A. Pokrovskiy "Report from 'Mystery Complex'": "Mist During Clear Weather"; first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Construction of this observatory on Mount Sanglok in Tajikistan is not yet complete, as is clearly visible from the published photograph [showing a four-story square building at the foot of a hill dotted with a dozen small domes or dish aerials]. But certain Western press organs and foreign television companies have already begun to allege that a laser installation is being erected there. PRAVDA's special correspondent visited this "mystery complex," as certain foreign journalists call the observatory under construction.

Nurek, Tajik SSR—I still remember my first meeting, many years ago, with the mountains of Tajikistan. Yes, of course, only mountains can be better than mountains, but I have never had occasion since then to encounter anything more wonderful than nature there. Pyramidal poplars just stand before your eyes, growing up to the sky on the 1,500-meter passes. And what poplars! At an altitude where plants are supposed to assume creeping forms, apple, plum, and cherry plum trees have heroically borne fruit, and natives of the Crimea, the Far East, and North America feel perfectly at home.

I wrote about all this in the journal UNESCO COURIER, describing how scientists interpret this phenomenon as resulting from the special features of the local climate, the amazing transparency of the atmosphere, and the level of solar radiation. A few months later I was obliged to supplement the original sketch with more detailed information on these experiments. Readers in various countries sent the journal letters containing questions, suggestions, and guesses. No way could I have supposed that life would make me come to the other end of the same region and look from a different viewpoint at its same special features....

It all started with photographs of Halley's Comet received at the Tajik SSR Academy of Sciences Astrophysics Institute, among the first from our country's territory, when the comet was still visible as an object of stellar magnitude 22 (one of these photographs was published in PRAVDA 19 February 1986).

I remember that I was surprised on examining it. Although the institute does not possess powerful astronomical instruments, it obtains high-class results.

"The conditions for making observations help there," specialists commented. "It is a very interesting place. Do try to visit it if you get the chance."

The chance presented itself quite recently. On arriving at the Astrophysics Institute's Sanglok high-mountain observatory, you at once see for yourself that the people there remember and are proud of their involvement in the international "Vega" experiment. This inscription is squeezed into the concrete foot of the telescope tower in small stones: "6/XI-85. Halley's Comet. Stellar magnitude 10.3. Phase angle 17 degrees."

Candidate of Mathematicophysical Sciences N. Kiselev, chief of the institute's variable stars department, and scientific assistant G. Chernova had just completed the night watch.

"In general," they said, "telescope time here is allocated literally by the minute. We are working on young stars in conjunction with the Crimea Observatory, and on the study of asteroids with Kharkov astronomers. There is a galaxy research program. People come to us from abroad: Czechs, Hungarians, and the telescope's creators, scientific employees from the GDR. A couple of years ago the American Michael A'Khern [name as published] was working here, as quite recently was the Bolivian Rodolfo Salyes" [name as published].

"And yet yours is just a 1-meter telescope, and there are bigger ones in the world and even in our country, right up to a 6-meter telescope."

"But add on our astroclimate—astronomers have such a concept. This includes the transparency and stillness of the atmosphere, the absence of external (background) illumination, the number of hours for observation, and so forth. In terms of these indicators, there is scarcely an observatory to equal ours. During the year, for example, there is a total of 1,300-1,600 night observation hours here, and the properties of the atmosphere make it possible to achieve results comparable with those obtained from larger instruments. For example, we were

able to observe from here the flight of Luna 16 and 17 and Zond 8, and we even recorded the flares from their motors during orbit corrections."

"Why, then, do you not build a more powerful telescope on Sanglok?"

"Such a project does exist, and a nearby site has already been sought. Unfortunately, a troposphere station is already established in a very convenient sector."

"What kind of construction site is that?"—I had caught sight of several domes similar to the dome of the institute's telescope.

"A different organization is erecting an observatory there."

Why not visit the neighbors? The very first sight was, unfortunately, characteristic of many of our construction sites: mounds of earth piled up, uncompleted buildings.

"Have you been working here long?" I asked the construction workers.

"Several years," they said. "And we will probably be here for several years more."

So, by all accounts, the half-ready telescope towers will still have to wait for instruments for optical observations of artificial earth satellites and other heavenly bodies, meteorites and asteroids, for an observatory is being constructed here for just this purpose.

"On the other hand, we are already famous throughout the world," the construction workers smiled mirthlessly and familiarized me with the report carried by the U.S. ABC TV company at the end of October. It was strange to read that composition here, on a still incomplete and totally undisguised construction site, comparing what I had read with what I had seen. Let us trace together the amazing logic of my foreign colleagues.

"A commercial satellite," they reported, "photographed a mystery complex in the USSR from an altitude of 800 km, at which construction work is still going on. This complex is located in a remote mountain region not far from the border with Afghanistan and is linked with the Nurek GES approximately 16 km away." I confirm that Sanglok is right there. But then a mist starts rising from the report and obscures the clear sky here. "Experts have not arrived at a final opinion with regard to the purpose of this complex. However, one of them said that it is a major military project, almost certainly connected with a laser installation located high in the mountains." And so, the first unknown expert voices a supposition in vague terms about some kind of laser installation. Consolidating its hold on this position, ABC goes on:

"It is not yet clear, another specialist pointed out, whether the laser installation (you see, there is no longer any doubt that the telescope towers are a laser installation—A.P.) will be used to track artificial earth satellites or to photograph satellites in high orbit. But it could also have a potential for destroying satellites." So, stealthily balancing logic, they lead the listeners and the readers through the mist toward the chief purpose for which the report was composed:

"Answering questions concerning the 'construction of a large laser in the USSR,' State Department spokesman Oakley declared: 'For some time now the appropriate departments have been monitoring the creation of this complex, but we are not prepared to comment on its purpose or its correlation with the ABM Treaty.'"

This is the chief point: It is by no means the U.S. but the Soviet side that is undermining the ABM Treaty because "the Russians are not to be trusted." Somewhat flabbergasted at the State Department spokesman's remarkable logic—"we are not yet prepared to comment, but nevertheless we will comment"—I asked my interlocutors:

"Could a specialist confuse optical telescopes with a laser installation?"

"It is generally hardly likely," they answered. "But, you know, as the saying goes, where there's a will there's a way...."

It seems that some people want very badly to befog the clear skies opened up during the preparations for and then the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Understandably, the dividing line in world politics now lies between common sense multiplied by morality and responsibility, on the one hand, and the fears and suspicions inherited from the cold war, on the other. It was from this "other side" that first the so-called question of the Krasnoyarsk radar and then of radar trucks in the region of Gomel and Moscow was dragged into the light of day. Our country displayed goodwill and gave U.S. representatives an opportunity to familiarize themselves with those projects. They saw for themselves that they were empty trucks. But the foreign press is again "making a mountain out of a molehill." This time they have raised the question of the observatory's construction.

As a last hope I asked:

"Perhaps the quality of the photographs from that 'commercial satellite' let them down?"

"We do not know what we do not know," they said. "We have not seen that photograph. But it is said that they perceived a power transmission line there and decided that it was intended for lasers. But it is intended for domestic needs. We will burn neither gas nor coal nor

wood here, so as not to affect the transparency of the air. Of course, power is also required for scientific instruments and computers. Our line will not be powerful enough for lasers."

Since we have not seen it, it is not worth making guesses, but it is high time we turned to what this is: an observatory for optical observation of heavenly bodies, including artificial earth satellites. I specially emphasize for the attentive reader that everything set forth below is based on data cited in the open Soviet press.

The point is that, with the development of cosmonautics, it became possible to open up high orbits, including so-called high elliptical and quasistationary orbits. In the Soviet Union, for example, they are used for apparatuses of the Molniya, Astron, Prognoz, Raduga, and Ekran types. These satellites are particularly efficient at resolving a number of tasks in the areas of radio communications, geology, meteorology, and so forth. Many countries have now put hundreds of their own apparatuses into such orbits, and their number is increasing by approximately 20% annually.

But, at the same time, it is no longer possible to monitor and track them at such a distance from the earth using existing radar means. Therefore, new means have been developed recently, including electro-optical means that function passively. In the United States, this system of ground-based electro-optical surveillance of space objects in deep space has been named GEODSS. It is already operating in various parts of the globe. In our country the new observatory on Sanglok is to operate on roughly the same principles. Specialists on neither side perceive any violations of the ABM Treaty in this instance.

You can easily see for yourself from the photograph published today that it is precisely an optical observatory. I took it precisely from the observatory of the Tajik Academy of Sciences Astrophysics Institute. I can send the original of the picture I took to those who are hindered not by quality of thinking (this is a clinical case, as it were) but really, perhaps, by the quality of the "commercial" photograph from space. Not on a commercial basis—for free.

New 'Mir' Space Station Being Developed

LD061024 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 6 Jan 88

[Text] A new orbital station, "Mir-2" is under development in the Soviet Union. One of the flight control leaders, Viktor Blagov, has told our correspondent that the new lab will also be assembled from a base block around which there will be metal frames for platforms carrying research equipment. Blagov pointed out that launching the giant parts for the future complex now present no technical problems. It can be done with the help of the energy booster rocket, capable of carrying a mass over 100 tonnes.